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## CONTENTS

Editorial .....	5
Rousseau's Raid on the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, <i>by Edwin C. Bearss</i> .....	7
"The Money Matters" of a Confederate Soldiers, <i>by Robert Partin</i> .....	49
Alabama State Currency, 1861-1865, <i>by Milo B. Howard, Jr.</i> .....	70
A Georgia Confederate Soldier Visits Montgomery, Alabama, 1862-1863, <i>by Allen W. Jones</i> .....	99
Two Uncollected Civil War Poems of Alexander Beaufort Meek, <i>by Benjamin B. Williams</i> .....	114
Political Parties and Propaganda in Alabama in the Presidential Election of 1860, <i>by Durward Long</i> .....	120
Alabama Plantation to Georgia Farm, John Horry Dent and Reconstruction, <i>by Thomas A. Belser, Jr.</i> .....	136
A Sketch of 12 Months Service in the Mobile Rifle Co., <i>by an Unidentified Member</i> .....	149
Confederate Prison at Montgomery, Ala., <i>by Earl Antrim</i> .....	190
Original Interments at Cahaba Cemetery—Now Interred at Mareitta National Cemetery .....	192





## EDITORIAL

This number of the *Quarterly* carries several references to the period of the Confederacy and at the same time sets out historical data applicable to the period in other respects. It will be especially interesting to the reader who is concerned with the activities of the Confederate soldier.

Editor



## ROUSSEAU'S RAID ON THE MONTGOMERY AND WEST POINT RAILROAD

By

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During the third week of June 1864, several scraps of information reached the Nashville headquarters of Major General Lovell H. Rousseau. (At this stage of the conflict, Rousseau was in charge of the District of Tennessee.) According to this intelligence, a powerful Union column would soon be leaving Memphis. This striking force would be charged with the mission of crushing Major General Nathan B. Forrest's hard-riding Confederate command. Rousseau realized that this might be a difficult task, since Forrest's troopers had recently cut Brigadier General Samuel D. Sturgis' bluecoated column to pieces at the battle of Brices Cross Roads.<sup>1</sup>

Reflecting on this information, Rousseau decided that if it were true, it would afford him an excellent opportunity of carrying out a raid on the vital industrial complex centering on Selma, Alabama. Rousseau had been devoting considerable thought to this project for some time. It was apparent to Rousseau that the two Confederate cavalry commands—General Nathan B. Forrest's and Brigadier General Philip D. Roddey's—which were operating in northeast Mississippi and northwest

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<sup>1</sup>Lovell H. Rousseau, a native of Kentucky, had served in the Mexican War as a captain in the 2d Indiana infantry. In September 1861, Rousseau had been commissioned a colonel in the Federal army and placed in command of the 3d Kentucky Infantry. Rising rapidly in rank, Rousseau was made a major general on October 8, 1862. Rousseau had been placed in charge of the District of Tennessee on November 10, 1863. A Union task force, commanded by General Sturgis, had been cut to pieces by Forrest at Brices Cross Roads on June 10, 1864.

Alabama would be occupied in coping with the Federal Force scheduled to advance out of the Memphis perimeter.<sup>2</sup>

On June 18, Rousseau sent a telegram to his superior—Major General William T. Sherman. Rousseau pointed out that with a force of 3,000 troopers, he felt confident that he could reach the Selma complex. Once his men had gained possession of the vital industrial center, Rousseau estimated they would be able to destroy between fifty and one hundred million dollars worth of public property. Furthermore, Rousseau observed, his raiders, after leaving Selma, would be able to destroy a number of trestles on the Montgomery and West Point Railroad east of Montgomery. Such action, he pointed out, would sever rail connections between Meridian and Atlanta. Rousseau noted that as the first step in his master plan, he would secretly concentrate a mounted striking force near Guntersville, Alabama. The raiding force was to consist of Colonel Duff G. Thornburgh's brigade, reinforced by the 8th Indiana Cavalry.

As soon as everything was squared away, the raiders would cross the Tennessee River and strike rapidly toward Selma. After wreaking havoc on that important industrial complex, the bluecoats, to avoid being intercepted by the Rebels, would strike northeastward through Montevallo, Ashville, and Gadsden, to Ringgold, Georgia. At Ringgold, a station on the vital Western and Atlantic Railroad, the raiders would entrain on waiting cars. Rousseau's troopers would then return to their bases in the District of Tennessee.<sup>3</sup>

Sherman was "quite favorably" impressed by Rousseau's plan of operations. The red-bearded general, on the 24th,

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<sup>2</sup>**The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies**, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. IV, 530. (Cited hereafter as **O. R.**) At this time, the Union scouts had pinpointed Forrest's command at Fulton, Mississippi, and Roddey's in the neighborhood of Decatur, Alabama.

<sup>3</sup>**Ibid.**, 530-531. The Western and Atlantic Railroad served as the supply line for General Sherman's "Army Group". General Sherman's "Army Group" was closing in on the Confederate defense belt guarding the approaches to Marietta, Georgia. To reinforce his arguments on the strategic significance of Selma, Rousseau pointed out that the manufacturing establishments located at Selma were "far more extensive and important than" those at Atlanta.

prepared a memorandum for Major General George H. Thomas, Rousseau's immediate superior.

Examining Sherman's dispatch, Thomas found that he was to direct Rousseau to begin collecting a strong force of cavalry and infantry at Pulaski, Tennessee, and Athens and Decatur, Alabama. To confuse the Confederates as to what his ultimate objective was, Rousseau was instructed to let the word get around that these troops were being gathered for the purpose of guarding the Union lines of communications from Forrest. Sherman had advised Thomas that he thought it best if Rousseau did not begin his raid immediately. Sherman was of the opinion that Rousseau should wait until his "Army Group" had compelled General Joseph E. Johnston and his hard-fighting Army of Tennessee to retire to the left bank of the Chattahoochee. In the meantime, Rousseau was to strip his command for action. He was to be prepared to move at a moment's notice.

Thomas immediately relayed this information to Rousseau. He also notified Rousseau that Major General Andrew J. Smith with 9,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry would soon leave Memphis to engage Forrest. The latest reports filtering out of north Mississippi, Thomas informed Rousseau, had pinpointed Forrest's command at Baldwyn.<sup>4</sup>

Evidently, Rousseau had "ants in his pants"; he wanted to get started immediately. On the 27th he wired Sherman, "I wrote you some days ago and asked to be allowed to go to Selma. I now beg leave to renew my request, and that I be allowed to go when it is understood the force of the enemy in that direction is not too large to be overcome by such force as I can prudently take from here."<sup>5</sup> Continuing, Rousseau observed that if A. J. Smith could keep Forrest entertained, there was nothing that could prevent the success of his contemplated raid. Hoping to rally support for his pet scheme, Rousseau

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<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 582. General Thomas, in addition to commanding the Army of the Cumberland, was in charge of the Department of the Cumberland. The District of Tennessee was assigned to Thomas' administrative command.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 624-625.

informed Sherman that Selma was garrisoned by only about 800 men, "nearly all of whom are workmen, the balance boy militia". To reinforce his plea, Rousseau informed Sherman that he was sending a special emissary to visit the "Army Group" and present his argument.<sup>6</sup>

Two days later (the 29th) Sherman replied to the persistent Rousseau's latest message. Glancing at the initial lines of the dispatch, Rousseau undoubtedly beamed on finding that he was authorized to "make all the preparations but do not start till we know something definite of A. J. Smith, and until I have pushed Johnston across the Chattahoochee". But in the next sentence, Sherman poured cold water on Rousseau's pet project. Instead of heading for Selma, Rousseau's raiders were to strike for Montgomery and Opelika, Alabama, and Columbus, Georgia. Sherman believed that these cities were of greater strategic significance than Selma. Since the three designated cities were transportation centers, it seems that Sherman (for the moment) was more interested in destroying Confederate communication than the factories, where the sinews of war were forged.

Rousseau was informed by Sherman that Major General Edward R. S. Canby, the commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi, had been requested to see that forage was accumulated at Pensacola, Florida. In the event that the raiders were unable to join the army before Atlanta, they were to cut their way through to the Gulf. Sherman closed his message with an admonition for Rousseau not to move until ordered.<sup>7</sup>

The next day (the 30th), Sherman sent another telegram to Rousseau. Sherman went into considerable detail concerning the projected raid. Rousseau was informed that as soon as the conditions precedent (the retreat of Johnston's Army across the Chattahoochee, and the fitting out of A. J. Smith's column) had been completed, 2,500 "good cavalry" would strike southward from the Tennessee Valley. Either Rousseau, or a reliable officer whom he should designate, was to be in charge

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 625.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 638.

of the raiding column.

This striking force would be well armed. The command was to be accompanied by a sufficient number of pack mules, loaded with ammunition, salt, sugar, coffee, and flour to supply the basic needs of the troopers. Forage, meat, and corn meal were to be obtained from the farms and plantations which lay along the line of march.

A section of artillery armed with two 3-inch Rodman rifles would accompany the expedition. In case it became necessary to abandon the field pieces, the officer in charge of the column would see that the wheels were cut up, the carriages burned, and the trunnions broken off and wedged in the muzzles.

After leaving Decatur, the expedition would make for Blountsville, crossing the Coosa River at Ten Islands Ford. Having passed the Coosa, the bluecoats would make for either Talladega or Oxford. From either of these points, they were to head for the nearest ford or bridge over the Tallapoosa. After the Tallapoosa had been crossed, the Yankees would drive rapidly southward. They were to strike the Montgomery and West Point Railroad between Tuskegee and Opelika, "breaking up the road and twisting" the rails. If the raiders encountered no serious opposition in wreaking havoc on the railroad, they were to threaten Columbus. After feigning an attack on Columbus, the column was to march up the west bank of the Chattahoochee, and rendezvous with Sherman's "Army Group" before Atlanta.

Rousseau was cautioned to avoid all contact with Rebel infantry. In addition he was not to make any rash attacks on fortified positions. Rousseau was to bear in mind that, if need be, the raiders could make for Pensacola, Rome, or Etoawah. All of these were occupied by Federal forces. In an effort to sooth Rousseau's ruffled feelings, Sherman pointed out, "Selma though important, is more easily defended than the route I have named."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 648.



Sherman, on July 2, decided to give his subordinate the green light. A message was sent to Nashville, informing Rousseau, "Now is the time for the raid to Opelika." Sherman also requested Rousseau to notify him whether he or one of his subordinates would command the raiding force. In closing, Sherman commented, "Forrest is in Mississippi, and Roddey has also gone there. All other rebel cavalry is here."<sup>9</sup>

The next day, Rousseau replied to his superior's communication. He informed Sherman that he would command the expedition. During his absence, Rousseau announced, Brigadier General Robert S. Granger would be in charge of the District of Tennessee. Rousseau concluded his telegram, "A little preparation will be required. I will announce to you when I am ready to go."<sup>10</sup>

By the 6th, Sherman was apparently becoming disenchanted with Rousseau. During the day, he sent two telegrams to Nashville. In the first, he inquired tersely, "Has that expedition started?"

Sherman's second message dealt with the reasons that the present moment was most propitious for the success of the raid. Sherman pointed out that A. J. Smith had left Memphis with a sufficient force to keep Forrest fully occupied. Furthermore, Sherman commented, the Union raiding parties operating near Mobile and out of Baton Rouge and Vicksburg should be able to keep any other Confederate forces operating in the Mississippi and Alabama theater of operations pinned down. Sherman closed his dispatch with the observation, "If managed with secrecy and rapidity the expedition cannot fail of success and

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<sup>9</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 19. Evidently, the Federal intelligence service was operating most efficiently. On June 18, Roddey had been directed by Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee to concentrate his command, except for 350 men belonging to the brigade led by Colonel Josiah Patterson, at Corinth, Mississippi. O. R., Series I, Vol. XXJIX, pt. II, 655.

<sup>10</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 41.



will accomplish much good."<sup>11</sup>

Faced with the manifold risks that were inherent in a dash deep into the Confederate "Heartland", Rousseau wanted to take with him officers and men whom he knew "to be of tried courage and efficiency". Consequently, he selected the best men from the 8th Indiana, the 5th Iowa, the 2d Kentucky, the 9th Ohio, and the 4th Tennessee (Union) Cavalry Regiments to constitute his raiding force. At the moment, most of the troopers (except those drawn from the 4th Tennessee) were dismounted. Rousseau therefore encountered considerable difficulty in outfitting his command with suitable mounts. In the end, the general was forced to requisition horses from other units which were not slated to participate in the raid.

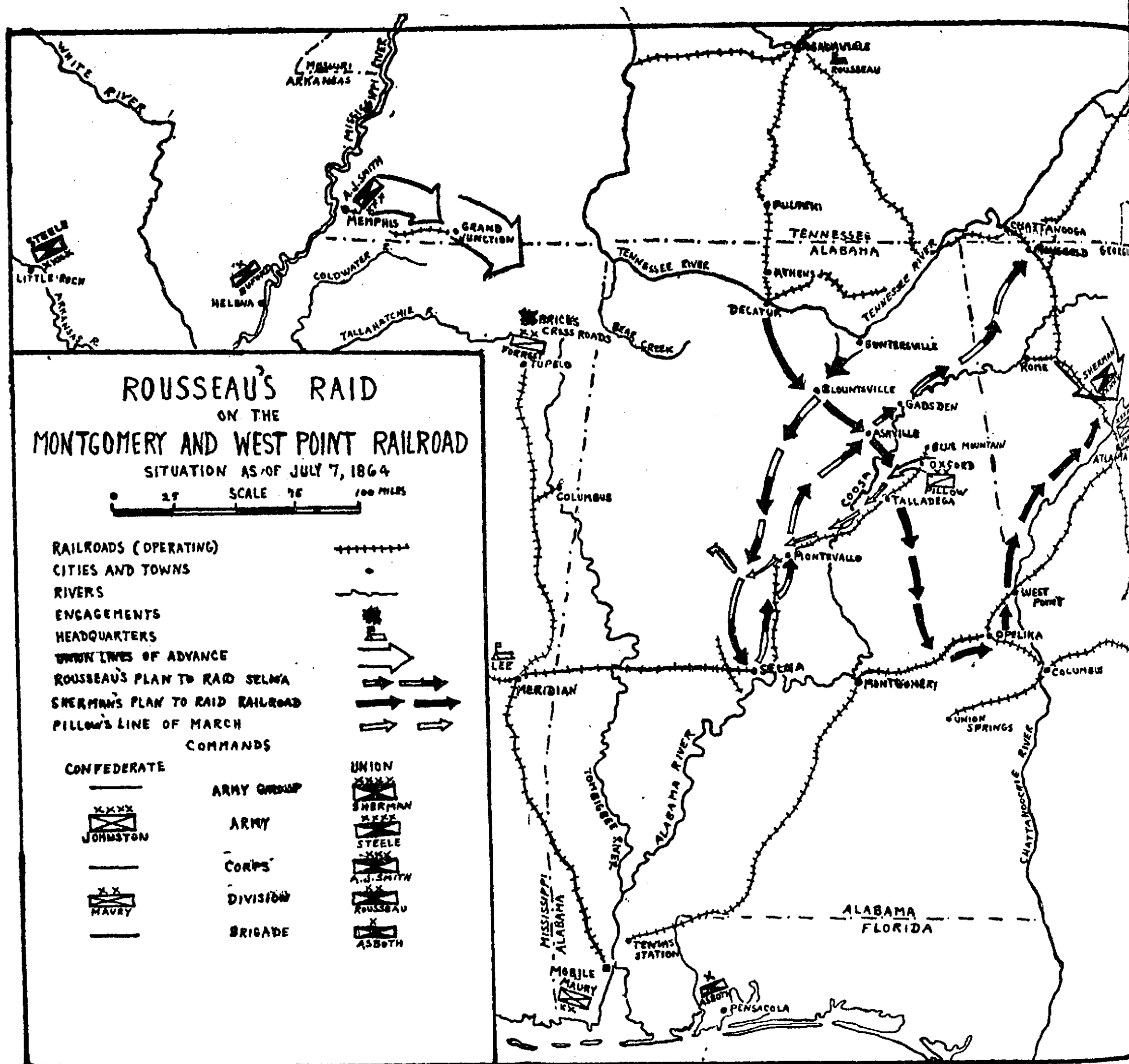
In accordance with Sherman's suggestion that a section of rifled artillery accompany the expedition, Rousseau determined to take along a section of 10-pounder Parrot rifles. These two field pieces were manned by the cannoneers of the 1st Battery, Michigan Light Artillery.

For administrative purposes, as well as ease of handling, Rousseau divided his raiding force into two brigades. Colonel Thomas J. Harrison of the 8th Indiana was placed in command of the 1st Brigade. Harrison's unit consisted of his own regiment and the 2d Kentucky. The leader of the 9th Ohio—Colonel William D. Hamilton—assumed command of the 2d Brigade. The remainder of the units assigned to the raiding force comprised Hamilton's brigade.

Before the expedition left Decatur, it became apparent to Rousseau that a shortage of officers in the 5th Ohio made it imperative that Colonel Hamilton give his undivided attention to his own regiment. Rousseau accordingly placed Lieutenant Colonel Matthewson T. Patrick of the 5th Iowa in charge of the

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<sup>11</sup>*Ibid*, 71. Major General Henry W. Slocum was in command of a powerful task force that was, at this moment, advancing eastward out of the Vicksburg perimeter toward Jackson, Mississippi. A cavalry force led by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Logan was harassing the Confederates in the Baton Rouge area at this time. It appears that Sherman's report of Federal activities directed against Mobile was premature.



2d Brigade. Between them, the shortage of horses and the administrative difficulties kept Rousseau from concentrating his command in the Decatur staging area before the evening of July 9.<sup>12</sup>

While Rousseau was exerting himself to get the expedition organized and under way, he was disturbed to receive Sherman's two telegrams of the 6th inquiring if the raid had started. From Nashville, on the 7th, Rousseau replied to his superior's message. Rousseau felt called upon to defend his conduct. He notified Sherman of his difficulties in organizing an efficient striking force. Rousseau closed his dispatch on a confident note. He advised "Uncle Billy" that he would proceed to Decatur on the 8th. His raiders would move out of the advance base at daybreak on the following morning.

Rousseau's communication was in Sherman's hands by nightfall. Replying immediately, Sherman pointed out that he had no fresh instructions or information to convey, but he expected Rousseau "to leave Decatur on the 9th".<sup>14</sup> Sherman observed that, according to the latest reports reaching his headquarters, Roddey's brigade had returned to the Muscle Shoals area. If these were true, Rousseau could send a small infantry command to Waterloo. This force would keep Roddey occupied by threatening to cross the Tennessee River and burn the bridge across Big Bear Creek. The destruction of this bridge, Sherman commented, would sever Roddey's direct line of communications with Iuka.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 904-905. Preparatory to his departure from Decatur, Rousseau appointed the following officers to his staff: Captain Alfred Matthias (the 5th Iowa), provost marshal, Lieutenant John Frey (the 9th Ohio), and Lieutenant Charles A. B. Langdon (the 5th Iowa), quartermaster and assistant quartermaster, Doctor Luther D. Waterman (the 8th Indiana) chief surgeon, Captain Thomas C. Williams (the 19th U. S. Infantry) assistant adjutant general, Captain Edward Ruger (the 13th Wisconsin Infantry) chief topographical engineer, and Captain Thomas A. Elkin (the 5th Kentucky Cavalry) aide-de-camp.

<sup>13</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 81.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.* Actually, the report that Roddey had returned to the Tennessee Valley was untrue. The Confederate force reported to be at Tusculumbia was actually Colonel Patterson's small command. Rousseau, realizing that this force was too small to interfere with his expedition, decided against sending a force of infantry to Waterloo.

Again, Sherman took it upon himself to warn Rousseau that, while he could spread rumors that he was going to Selma, he was not to go there under any circumstances. Sherman again emphasized the point that the Montgomery and West Point Railroad was the only direct rail link connecting the railroads of Mississippi and Alabama. Its destruction was mandatory. After outlining the steps being taken by A. J. Smith, Canby and himself to keep the Confederate forces in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama occupied, Sherman went into detail on the techniques he wished Rousseau to employ in wrecking the railroad.<sup>16</sup>

As soon as he had accomplished his mission, Rousseau would attempt to return to Decatur. If pursued, he would make for either Rome, Kingston, or Allatoona.

Sherman also had some pertinent advice for his subordinate. Rousseau was not to take any wagons. He was to carry his excess gear on pack horses. The column was to travel early and late, resting during the heat of the day and in the middle of the night. Rousseau was admonished to spare his horses during the first week on the road, thus keeping the mounts in good shape for the return trip.

Sherman notified Rousseau that the reports filtering into his GHQ indicated that Brigadier General Gideon J. Pillow led the only Rebel force operating in the area into which Rousseau would be advancing. According to Sherman's informants, Pillow was operating east of the Coosa River.<sup>17</sup>

Actually, the Union information pinpointing Pillow's command east of the Coosa River was outdated. June 29 found General Pillow's mounted division camped at Oxford. During the day, Pillow received a message from his superior, Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee, the commander of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. Lee directed Pillow

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<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.* Upon reaching the railroad, Rousseau would see that the ties were placed in piles and burned; the rails would be heated until they were red hot in the middle. The troopers would then take hold of the ends and give them a twist.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

to move his command (except 300 men who would be left at Blue Mountain) by easy stages to Montevallo.<sup>18</sup>

Before leaving Oxford on the 1st, Pillow summoned Lieutenant Colonel Henry J. Livingston to his headquarters. (Livingston's Alabama Cavalry Regiment was an organic part of the brigade led by Brigadier General James H. Clanton. At this time, however, Livingston's regiment was under temporary assignment to Pillow's division.) Pillow told Livingston that his regiment was to move from Oxford to Blue Mountain. Upon reaching Blue Mountain, Livingston would establish a line of outposts connecting that point with Cave Springs, Georgia. The troopers manning these posts would keep a sharp watch for any Union raiding force striking for the Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad and the iron works in the Blue Mountain area. If a Federal striking force were sighted, Pillow told Livingston, he was to relay the news to General Lee immediately.<sup>19</sup>

At Montevallo, where he arrived on the 6th, Pillow found orders awaiting him. General Lee wanted Pillow to hasten to northeast Mississippi and report to General Forrest. At this time Forrest needed all the reinforcements he could get to cope with A. J. Smith's powerful column.

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<sup>18</sup>**O. R.**, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, 673. At this time, Pillow's command consisted of two brigades—one led by Colonel Charles G. Armistead, the other by Colonel James J. Neely. Armistead's brigade included: the 8th Alabama Cavalry Regiment, Lewis' Alabama Cavalry Battalion, and the 12th Mississippi Cavalry Regiment. The following units constituted Neely's Brigade: the 12th, 14th and 15th Tennessee Cavalry Regiments. General Lee, on June 1, had placed Pillow in charge of a specially constituted force. Pillow's mission was to defend the iron foundries and coal mines in northeast Alabama. There were two Alabama cavalry regiments bearing the designation of the 8th. One was commanded by Colonel Charles P. Ball, the other by Colonel Livingston. In this narrative, the latter unit will be referred to as Colonel Livingston's Regiment.

<sup>19</sup>**Ibid.**, 681. The brigade commanded by General Clanton consisted of the 6th Alabama Cavalry, Livingston's Alabama Cavalry Regiment, and Clanton's Alabama Battery. At this time, only Livingston's regiment and Clanton's battery were operating in northeast Alabama. The 6th Alabama Cavalry was on detached service with the Army of Tennessee.



Before Pillow could issue marching orders to his command, he was approached by Colonel Charles P. Ball. (The colonel had assumed temporary command of Colonel Charles G. Armistead's brigade, when the colonel had been wounded in the attack on La Fayette, Georgia, on June 24.) Ball informed Pillow that his men's horses were badly used up. Before his brigade could continue, Ball felt it would be necessary to re-shoe the horses. Consequently, Pillow was compelled to inform Lee that it would be 48 hours before "operation horseshoe" could be completed, and Ball's brigade again hit the road. Pillow, however, promised Lee that he would start Colonel James J. Neely's brigade for Mississippi at daybreak.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, by the morning of the 8th, the rear echelon of Pillow's command was riding out of Montevallo, en route to Forrest's support. This was 24 hours before Rousseau's raiders were scheduled to depart from Decatur.<sup>21</sup>

Following Pillow's departure from Oxford, a serious dispute broke out between the commanders of the Confederate units operating in northeast Alabama. A mounted bluecoated patrol out of Rome dashed into Cave Springs on July 7 and captured several wagons belonging to the Confederate government. Reaching Blue Mountain, the courier carrying the news of the foray apparently failed to report to Captain George Goldthwaite, the post commandant. Since Goldthwaite was the officer designated by Generals Lee and Pillow to relay news of Union activities in this area to department GHQ, the captain was disturbed about the failure to apprise him of the Cave Springs raid.

An irate captain immediately approached Lieutenant Colonel John L. Chandler, who was commanding Livingston's

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<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 689-690. Pillow, plagued by the lack of a supply train, was forced to see that the gear belonging to Ball's brigade was sent to Mississippi by rail.

<sup>21</sup>Neely's troopers proceeded to Columbus, Mississippi, where they were dismounted and transported to Tupelo by rail. Neely's command arrived at Tupelo on the morning of the 10th, in plenty of time to participate in the pending battle. Ball's brigade, however, lagged far behind. Before reaching the railhead at Columbus, news of A. J. Smith's retreat had reached Colonel Ball. At the same time, orders were received for the brigade to return to Montevallo.

Regiment during the commanding officer's absence. Gaining admittance to Chandler's headquarters, Goldthwaite protested what he considered a gross disobedience of orders.

As soon as he had received Goldthwaite's protest, Colonel Chandler forwarded it to Lieutenant Colonel Washington T. Lary of the 6th Alabama Cavalry. (During the days immediately following Pillow's departure for Montevallo, the 6th Alabama had been reassigned to Clanton's brigade and transferred from the Atlanta area to Blue Mountain. Since General Clanton was on leave, Colonel Lary was serving as acting brigade commander at this time.)

When advised of Goldthwaite's protest, Lary drafted a memorandum. He informed the captain, "As this brigade (Clanton's) is not reporting either to Generals Lee or Pillow, the lieutenant-colonel commanding respectfully declines reporting his information to Captain G. unless he deems it necessary for him to be informed and the lieutenant-colonel will judge of the necessity."<sup>22</sup>

If General Lee, who was exerting himself to the limit to cope with the strong Union forces threatening his department from Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans, made any reply to this challenge to his authority on Colonel Lary's part, it does not appear in the *Official Records*.

At the time that Rousseau was completing his preparations for his dash on the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, the organized Confederate forces in northeast Alabama had been reduced to the barest minimum—the under strength brigade commanded by General Clanton. To make matters worse, Colonel Lary (the acting brigade commander) in his dispute with Goldthwaite had advanced the point that the brigade was not subject to Lee's orders. A situation such as this would undoubtedly provide a climate favorable to the success of Rousseau's undertaking.

Rousseau's inability to concentrate his entire command at Decatur on the evening of July 8 left him with only one alterna-

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<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 691-692.

tive. He was compelled to postpone the hour of departure. New orders were drafted, directing the men to be ready to march at daybreak on the 10th. In fact, Federal staff work was so poorly coordinated that it was the 9th before the crack 8th Indiana Cavalry marched from their camp to the Nashville depot. There the troopers entrained on the waiting cars of the Central Alabama Railroad which carried them to Decatur.

On the night of the 9th, confusion reigned in the Union camps, in and around Decatur. The Federal officers sought desperately to complete last-minute preparations. There was little rest for the men. It was found necessary to requisition the horses and saddles of the 2d Tennessee Cavalry (Union), which was slated to remain at Decatur, to round out the equipment of the 8th Indiana. To facilitate their transfer from Nashville to the forward staging area, the Indianians had left their mounts and saddles behind.<sup>23</sup>

As daybreak approached, the officer in charge of the pack train informed Rousseau that his animals were not ready to move. Rousseau had only one recourse. Once again, he was forced to reschedule the hour of departure.

About noon, the general finally received the welcomed tidings that the pack train was ready to move. At this, Rousseau proceeded to alert his two brigade commanders to have their troopers reach to mount at a moment's notice. At 1 p.m., Rousseau had his bugler sound "Boots and Saddles". The 2,500 hard-riding troopers swung into their saddles. Next, the general gave the command to "move out!" The long blue column rode out of Decatur, taking the Somerville road. Since the cavalymen were traveling light (Except for arms, ammunition, rations, and gum blankets, all camp and garrison equipment had been left behind.), and there was plenty of excitement and adventure in the offing, spirits were high.<sup>24</sup>

A short distance southeast of Decatur, the road which the column was following left the Tennessee Valley and climbed up into the hills. This made the march all the more pleasant.

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<sup>23</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 878, 905.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.



Nightfall on July 10 found the raiders camped at Somerville, 17 miles southeast of Decatur.

The next day, the raiders hit the road just as dawn was breaking. Heading southward from Somerville, the Federals crossed Sand Mountain, passed through the mountain village of Mt. Alvis, and halted for the night in Brown's Valley, near Blountsville. On the 12th, the raiders, after fording the Locust Fork of the Black Warrior, negotiated rugged Straight Mountain. Nightfall found the troopers bivouacked five miles northwest of Ashville.

Before retiring, General Rousseau summoned Major Meshack Stephens (the commander of the 4th Tennessee) and his aide-de-camp, Captain Thomas A. Elkin, to his command post. The general told the two officers that he had learned from some of the inhabitants that there was a large supply of forage stored at Ashville. He was afraid that if the Confederate authorities learned of the Union advance, they would put the torch to the forage. To prevent the application of a scorched earth policy, Rousseau thought it would be wise for the 4th Tennessee to surprise and occupy the town during the night.

In accordance with Rousseau's wishes, Major Stephens and Captain Elkin turned out the Tennesseans. Moving forward under the cover of darkness, the bluecoated troopers surprised the sleeping town. With the advent of daylight, the two officers were delighted to discover that, in addition to a large supply of corn, they had captured a considerable quantity of commissary stores. When Rousseau, accompanied by the rest of his column, entered Ashville on the morning of the 13th, he called for Lieutenant John Frey, his chief quartermaster. Frey was given the task of seeing that the forage and commissary stores were divided and issued to the command.<sup>25</sup>

Considerable time was wasted while the men were drawing rations and feeding their horses. The afternoon was well along before the bluecoats evacuated Ashville. As the Yankees pushed on toward the Coosa, they had their first contact with a hostile force since leaving Decatur. Learning of the raiders' approach,

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<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 905.

a party of Confederate irregulars took cover in the underbrush which flanked the road. The partisans held their fire until all the column, except the rear guard, had passed. (At this time, the troopers of the 5th Iowa were bringing up the rear.) Suddenly, the guerrillas opened fire, knocking two of the Iowans' officers out of their saddles. One of the officers was killed, the other wounded. Fanning out on either side of the road, the grim Iowans made a determined effort to flush the unseen foe. The partisans, however, melted away into the woods and escaped.<sup>28</sup>

At dusk, the raiders reached the Coosa River at Greensport. Here, the Federals were overjoyed to discover that a ferryboat was moored to the opposite bank. Rousseau called for volunteers. These men were to cross the river and secure the boat. The general's call was eagerly responded to. The ubiquitous Captain Elkin was placed in charge of the volunteers. Plunging into the water, the men swam across the river and secured the ferry.

Having heard rumors that a small Rebel force was operating east of the Coosa, Rousseau decided to throw a 200-man detachment across the river that very evening. This detachment would be charged with the mission of establishing a bridgehead covering the Greensport crossing and the ford at Ten Islands, which was four miles downstream. It was apparent to Rousseau that, with the darkness rapidly falling, it would be impossible for him to cross his entire command on the night of the 13th.

A detachment composed of picked men from the 8th Indiana led by Major Thomas Graham crossed the Coosa without difficulty. To support the Hoosiers in case the Confederates made a night attack on the bridgehead, Rousseau sent the Michiganders with their section of 10-pounder Parrotts across the river. Satisfied that the force holding the bridgehead was strong enough to deal with any eventuality, Rousseau permitted the rest of his command to bivouac for the night.

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<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.* Captain William Curl was the officer killed; Captain Jeremiah C. Wilcox was the one wounded.

Before retiring, the general had his brigade and regimental commanders make a thorough inspection of their units. The officers were directed to winnow out any men or horses that looked as if they would be unable to keep up with the expedition as it drove deeper into the heart of Alabama. In all, about 300 horses and 200 men were found who gave evidence of being unable to maintain the rapid pace which Rousseau knew was necessary to insure the success of the raid. The casualties were detached. With the broken-down horses, they proceeded by easy marches to Guntersville. After crossing the Tennessee River at that point, they succeeded in reaching the Federal lines without incident.<sup>27</sup>

Evidently, news of the bluecoats' advance traveled slowly. It was the evening of July 13—24 hours after the event—before General Clanton received the intelligence that the foe had occupied Ashville. (General Clanton had just returned to duty and resumed command of his brigade.) Upon receipt of this information, Clanton, hoping to ascertain in what direction the Yankees were moving, issued marching orders to his command.

By 10:30 p.m., the troopers of the 6th Alabama and Livingston's Regiment had squared away their gear, drawn their rations and ammunition, and departed from Blue Mountain. Clanton believed that, after leaving Ashville, the raiders would make for the nearest crossing of the Coosa. He struck out at a fast pace for the Greensport ferry. Reaching the vicinity of the ferry about 1 a.m., Clanton was told by the inhabitants that the Federals were crossing the river.

After leaving instructions for his subordinates to have their troopers ready to attack the Union bridgehead at daybreak, Clanton sent a message to Major William T. Walthall, the Confederate commander at Talladega. Besides advising the major of his plans, Clanton urged him to rush all the troops that could be raised in the Talladega area to Blue Mountain. Walthall's soldiers would be used to assist Clanton's cavalry in checking the Unionists' advance.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

Clanton's dispatch was in Walthall's hands by the morning of the 14th. Walthall, however, did not agree with Clayton on one point. He believed that the Federals were striking for Talladega and not Blue Mountain. Nevertheless, Walthall determined to let himself be guided by the general's wishes. He immediately set to work to organize and assemble a force to send to Blue Mountain.<sup>28</sup>

From his scouts who were familiar with the countryside, Rousseau received a piece of important information. They informed the general that, if he moved his command to the Ten Islands Ford, the passage of the Coosa would be completed much more rapidly than by utilizing the single ferryboat. After an early reveille on the 14th, Rousseau started his main column for the Ten Islands Ford. Before moving out, Rousseau communicated with Major Graham's detachment, which was holding the bridgehead at the ferry. Graham was instructed to move down the east bank of the river to the ford.<sup>29</sup>

Immediately after leaving the ferry, Major Graham's combat patrol encountered part of Clanton's brigade moving forward to attack the bridgehead. Heavy skirmishing broke out. The cavalymen in blue and in grey piled off their horses and opened fire. Fortunately for Major Graham, the main column had not ventured very far from the ferry at the time he established contact with Clanton's Confederates.

Learning that Graham's troopers had clashed with a strong force of Rebels, Rousseau loaded a 100-man detachment on the ferry. These men were sent across the river as reinforcements. Subsequently, the general was forced to take cognizance of the steady increase in the din of battle reaching him from across the river. He called for the commander of the 8th Indiana—Lieutenant Colonel Fielder A. Jones. The colonel was ordered to cross the river with the remainder of his regiment, and

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<sup>28</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. III, 975.

<sup>29</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 905-906. Rousseau learned from his guides that Andrew Jackson, during his 1815 campaign against the Creek Indians, had used the Ten Islands Ford in effecting his passage of the Coosa. Over 300 years before, Hernando de Soto's army of Spanish conquistadores had passed this way. Mark E. Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 533.

bolster Major Graham's combat team. Guided by a Negro, Jones found a little-used ford, one-half mile below the ferry. Here, he crossed his command. Before Jones' troopers arrived on the scene, however, Graham's blueclads had routed the Southerners who were contesting their advance.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime, the main column's vanguard had reached the Ten Islands Ford. As the Federals started to cross the Coosa, they were fired upon by a strong detachment from Clanton's brigade. The Rebels were ensconced behind rocks and trees on the east bank of the river.

Colonel Patrick, who was in charge of the Union advance, did not panic easily. He shouted for the troopers of the 5th Iowa and the 4th Tennessee to dismount. Deployed on the double, the bluecoats occupied two islands in the middle of the river. From these vantage points, they returned the Confederates' fire.

After smashing the Confederate roadblock, Graham's combat patrol pushed rapidly on toward Ten Islands Ford. Taking advantage of the Alabamans preoccupation with Patrick's troopers, Graham's men were able to take them in the flank and rear. Badly shaken by this surprise attack, Clanton's cavalrymen scattered. Eight of their comrades, who were not so fleet of foot, fell into the cheering Unionists' hands. As soon as the Rebels had departed from the area, Rousseau's main column forded the river.<sup>31</sup>

The Federals were well satisfied with the results of this engagement. Not only had they forced a crossing of a formidable river, but they had inflicted very disproportionate casualties upon the Confederates. In this clash, the Yankees reported the loss of only one man. He had been wounded. Besides the eight prisoners, the greyclads lost 15 killed and 40 wounded. Among the casualties were: Captain R. S. Abercrombie of Clanton's staff, slain, and Colonel Washington T. Lary and Major Eliphalet A. McWorter of the 6th Alabama, captured.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 878, 906.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 906.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.



After a brief rest, the raiders pushed on. Five miles beyond the Coosa (near Sulphur Springs), the bluecoats passed a large iron furnace, which was fabricating water material for the Southern government. This valuable cog in the Confederate warmaking potential was earmarked for destruction. Working under the efficient supervision of Captain Edward Ruger, a demolition team wrecked the foundry.

During the day's march, the general grew increasingly concerned about the ability of the artillery to maintain the rugged pace. The hot weather and atrocious condition of the roads were proving too much for the artillery horses. Finally, the general decided it would be best to abandon one of the guns. To prevent the piece from being of any use to the Southerners, the cannoneers dismounted the gun. After breaking off the trunnions, they burned the carriage and caisson. The extra horses would be used to help pull the remaining piece and its caisson. Nightfall on the 14th found the bluecoats camped near Fife.<sup>33</sup>

At 5 p.m., a troop train chugged into Blue Mountain. Aboard were Major Walthall and less than 200 armed men that he had been able to assemble before leaving Talladega. The combat efficiency of most of the soldiers which Walthall had managed to scrape up was low. A large percentage of the men were either recruits or members of the reserve.<sup>34</sup>

Learning from the inhabitants that Clanton was in the field, Walthall sent a courier to communicate with the general. About four hours after Walthall reached Blue Mountain, Clanton rode into town at the head of his battered brigade. Clanton informed Walthall that his command had lost contact with the foe. Fearful lest he be outflanked and cutt off from his base, Clanton had returned to Blue Mountain.

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. III, 975. Among the units constituting Walthall's command were the recruits from the Talladega Camp of Instruction, Captain Pitts' company of reserves, casuals, and 60 men from Pillow's command. The detachment from Pillow's command had been left behind to care for the disabled horses when the division had been ordered to Montevallo. Efforts by Walthall and Major Alexander M. Haskell to arouse the citizens and to induce the various reserve companies to turn out had failed to generate much of a response.

From their conversation, Walthall gathered the impression that Clanton was convinced that Rousseau's primary objective was Blue Mountain and the Oxord Iron Works. Walthall did not agree. He believed that the invaders would make for Talladega and the Coosa River bridge. Walthall told Clanton of his thoughts on the matter. After a short discussion, Clanton decided to allow Walthall to return to Talladega with his motley force. When they departed, the general told Walthall that, if the Union threat to Oxford and Blue Mountain failed to materialize, during the night, he would proceed to Talladega in the morning.<sup>35</sup>

It was midnight before Walthall could procure the necessary transportation to return his force to Talladega. When the train pulled into Talladega, it was about 3 a.m. The excited inhabitants told the major that the bluecoats had halted for the night several miles north of town. Walthall knew that 25 miles separated his small command from General Clanton's. Furthermore, he realized that, with his small "handful of raw infantry", it would be impossible to check the Union advance. Even if it were impossible to defend Talladega, the major reasoned, he should at least try to protect the vital bridge which carried the tracks of the Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad across the Coosa River.

Having made his decision, Walthall told his men to remain in the crowded boxcars. He then made another circuit of the town to see if he could rally any additional troops. Failing, the major returned to the depot. On doing so, Walthall directed Captain John Maguire of the quartermaster corps to try to save all the wagons and whatever stores could be removed in them.

Just as day was breaking, the major reboarded the train. Orders were issued for the trainmen to proceed to the Coosa bridge. Reaching the vital bridge, Walthall detrained and deployed his small command.<sup>36</sup>

Hoping to take the defenders of Talladega by surprise,

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<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 975-976.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 976.

Rousseau had his command on the road before daybreak on the 15th. At 7 a.m., several hours after the departure of Walthall's command and immediately following the exit of Captain Maguire's wagon train, the bluecoats entered Talladega.

After occupying the town, Rousseau organized and sent out a number of patrols. These groups were to search out and mark, either for destruction or for forced requisition, the public property stored in the warehouses. Within a short time, the officers in charge of these patrols were back at headquarters with the desired information. From these reports, Rousseau learned that his command had captured a very valuable prize. Besides a large supply of leather, grain sacks, and cotton, his raiders had seized approximately 100,000 rations of salt and sugar, along with 20,000 rations of flour and bacon.

After Rousseau's chief quartermaster had seen that a portion of the rations was issued to the command, the general gave orders that the remainder should be distributed among the inhabitants. Before evacuating the town, the Unionists attended to two other items. First, the 143 patients in the Talladega military hospital were paroled. Next, demolition teams applied the torch to the two gun factories located in the town, several railroad cars standing on the siding, and the depot.

During the brief period that his troopers were in occupation of Talladega, Rousseau kept a tight rein on his command. Consequently, very little damage was inflicted upon private property. Guard details were furnished by the general to protect the property of any families making the necessary request.<sup>37</sup>

Before departing from Talladega, Rousseau considered the possibility of destroying the railroad bridge across the Coosa. Upon mature reflection, he decided that it would be best to strike for the Montgomery and West Point Railroad without any further delay. The general ordered his bugler to sound "Boots and Saddles".

To confuse the Rebels as to what their ultimate objective was, the Federals on evacuating Talladega took the road lead-

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<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 906.



ing toward the Coosa. After proceeding about five miles in a southwesterly direction, the column turned into the Wetumpka road and headed south.<sup>38</sup>

During the afternoon, Rousseau halted his column at a plantation. Dismounting, the general, accompanied by his staff, entered the yard. As they stepped up on the porch, the blue-coats were greeted by the owner. Since the cavalrymen were covered with dust, the civilian mistook their blue uniforms for butternut. Rousseau requested a drink of water, and it was cheerfully furnished. While the officers were quenching their thirst, Rousseau observed that on the opposite side of the road was a barnyard with several fine mules.

"My good sir," the general remarked to the planter, "I fear I must take some of your mules."

After a brief moment of silence, the planter protested that he had already given liberally to the cause. "Only last week", he explained, "he had given ten mules to a needy force of Confederate cavalry."

At this, Rousseau informed the planter that he should be as liberal with him as he had been with the Rebels.

Getting to his feet, the civilian exclaimed, "Ain't you on our side?"

Rousseau then told the planter that he was Union general.

"Great God," the planter gasped, "whoever would have thought that the Yankees could come way down here in Alabama."

Since he had no choice in the matter, the farmer gloomily submitted to Rousseau's suggestion that he share his mules equally with the two armies.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>O. R. ,Series 1, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 906-907.

<sup>39</sup>Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 536.

After this brief interlude, the column again moved off. When dusk overtook the raiders Rousseau called a halt. The Yankees bivouacked on the evening of the 15th on the Coosa-Tallapoosa watershed, near the village of Brownsville.<sup>40</sup>

Major Walthall learned during the afternoon that the bluecoats instead of making for the Coosa bridge were heading for Wetumpka. He immediately returned to Talladega. His purpose was to make a survey of the damage inflicted by the raiders. A hasty inspection of the town demonstrated to Walthall that the Federal soldiers had acted with unusual forbearance. Except in a few isolated cases, he found that the Union soldiers had not damaged private property. In fact, the bluecoats had not taken time to tear up the railroad track, or apply the torch to the Camp of Instruction, which was within a mile of the center of the town.<sup>41</sup>

Breaking camp shortly after daybreak on the 16th, the raiding column continued its advance toward Wetumpka. At Socopathy (a hamlet located at a strategic nexus of roads), ten miles south of Brownsville, the bluecoats turned eastward. The column's objective was Stowe's Ferry on the Tallapoosa.

Reaching the river about dark, Rousseau had his pack mules and artillery transported across the river on the ferryboat. While this operation was taking place, the general moved the remainder of his command to another crossing. One of Rousseau's scouts had told him of this little-used ford, which was one-half mile north of the ferry. The Yankees were soon disenchanted with the ford. It was discovered that not only was the bottom covered with rocks, but the water was so high that the cavalymen were forced to swim their horses part of the way across. Consequently, it was almost daybreak before Rousseau's subordinates were able to inform him that the entire command had reached the east bank of the Tallapoosa. Despite the knowledge that his men were greatly fatigued by the night's work and were badly in need of rest, Rousseau determined to press on. He knew that the column was within a day's march of the railroad.

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<sup>40</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 906-907.

<sup>41</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. III, 976-977.

In an effort to delude the Rebels into believing that Montgomery was their objective, the Federals upon leaving Stowe's Ferry followed the Tallapoosa as far as Eagle Hill. Here, the column veered into the Dadeville road. At Dadeville, the bluecoats turned into the Loachapoka road.

Maintaining a blistering pace, the Yankees passed through DeSoto and crossed Sougahatchee Creek. At sunset on the 17th, they struck the vital Montgomery and West Point Railroad at Loachapoka. Taking into consideration the fact that his hard-driving troopers had covered almost 40 miles since daybreak, Rousseau ordered them to take a break. As soon as the men had rested, he would put them to work wreaking havoc on the railroad.<sup>42</sup>

After the cavalymen had gathered their second wind, Rousseau called upon the regimental commanders for working parties. Colonel Harrison was placed in charge of these fatigue details. Harrison was instructed to see that the railroad was made unfit for service in the immediate future. The character of the superstructure of the railroad, and the type of timber used in its construction (The crossties were of pitch pine, the rails of the same material, with a light bar of iron secured to the top through holes in a flange.), greatly facilitated the work of destruction. First, the soldiers would loosen the spikes which secured the rails to the crossties. After this operation was completed, a detail of bluecoats, using fence rails as levers, would separate the track from the ties. The rails and timbers from one side of the road would be doubled over on the other. Fence rails, with other combustibles, would be piled on top of the heap, and the torch applied. The dry pitch pine burned very readily. It produced such an intense heat that the iron was warped and made completely worthless. At the same time, the ties were burned. The destruction was complete. Before Colonel Harrison permitted his men to retire for the night, they had ripped up and destroyed several miles of track.

While Harrison's troopers were busily tearing up the railroad, another Federal demolition team had set fire to the depot. Before applying the torch, the Federal officers discovered that

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<sup>42</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 907.

the depot contained a large quantity of commissary and quartermaster stores. Disaster soon threatened. Sparks, borne by a strong wind, threatened to set the entire town on fire. To cope with this emergency, the Union officers turned out all their men. It took a lot of hard work on the part of the troopers to keep the conflagration from spreading beyond the railroad buildings. As soon as the fire was brought under control, the exhausted troops retired for the night.<sup>43</sup>

General Clanton, who led the only effective mounted force of Confederates operating in northeast Alabama, apparently made no effort to pursue the bluecoats following his return to Blue Mountain on the evening of the 14th. Furthermore, it appears that Clanton even failed to communicate news of the rapid Federal advance toward the vital railroad to the departmental commander—General S. D. Lee. After regrouping his brigade, Clanton rode out of Blue Mountain. Moving at an easy pace, Clanton's column headed for West Point, Georgia, where it arrived at the end of the third week in July. By this move, Clanton hoped to prevent Rousseau's raiders from rendezvousing with Sherman's "Army Group" before Atlanta.<sup>44</sup>

It was the 16th, two days after Clanton's clash with the bluecoats at Ten Islands Ford, before General S. D. Lee learned that a strong Yankee column had driven deep into his department. When Lee finally received this discouraging news, it was from General Pillow and not General Clanton.

On July 16, an important dispatch had reached General Pillow's Montevallo headquarters from the Confederate authorities at Elyton. (Following the battle of Tupelo, which was fought on the 13th and the 14th, A. J. Smith's column had fallen back toward Memphis. Pillow, accompanied by Ball's brigade, had returned to Montevallo.) The Elyton Confederates reported that the Yankee column had divided at Ashville. One-half of the raiders were said to be striking for Talladega. The others were reportedly making their way down the west bank of the Coosa, with Montevallo as their probable objective. After relaying this news to Lee, Pillow sent a dispatch to Clanton.

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<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 898, 902.

Pillow informed Clanton that he would remain where he was, until he could definitely ascertain whether or not Montevallo was the Yankees' goal. If events, as they developed, demonstrated that there was no threat to Montevallo, Pillow would take the field, rendezvousing with Clanton's brigade at either Oxford or Blue Mountain.<sup>45</sup>

Pillow's telegram containing intelligence of the Union raid reached General Lee at Tupelo. (Lee had established temporary headquarters there on the afternoon of the 16th.) Following the receipts of this disturbing news, Lee dashed off a number of telegrams to various officers in his department. Besides alerting them to danger, Lee sought to rally a force for the defense of the threatened points in Alabama.

Lee was not satisfied with Pillow's passive attitude. He directed Pillow to hold Ball's brigade ready to move from Montevallo by rail to meet the raiders at either Montgomery or West Point, as the situation demanded.<sup>46</sup>

The commandant of the Confederate garrison at Aberdeen, Mississippi (Lieutenant Colonel Marshall T. Polk) was ordered to entrain 400 infantry and proceed to Selma. There, Polk would report to Pillow for further instructions.<sup>47</sup>

Major General Dabney H. Maury, the officer in charge of the District of the Gulf, was instructed to rush seven companies of reserves from Mobile to Montgomery.<sup>48</sup> Since the hour was quite late when Lee drafted these telegrams, it was the morning of the 17th before they reached the principals involved.

If Rousseau's troopers had struck the railroad several hours earlier than they did, they might have bagged a very important Confederate officer—General Braxton Bragg. Bragg, who was on a tour of inspection of the Western Armies at the President's request, had journeyed by rail from Atlanta to Montgomery that very day. At Montgomery, Bragg was informed by the anxious Confederate authorities that a Union raiding force

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<sup>45</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. III, 978.

<sup>46</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 884.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 883.



(estimated to number 1,500 strong) had passed through Talladega. This Federal column was reportedly striking for the Montgomery and West Point Railroad. The hard-bitten Bragg realized full well the urgency of the situation. He immediately took charge of the Confederate efforts to rally a force for the defense of the vital railroad.

Without waiting for additional instructions from Lee, Pillow had begun the transfer of Ball's brigade from Montevallo to Selma on the morning of the 17th. When Bragg was notified of this development, he ordered Pillow to see that Ball's troops, following their arrival at Selma, were promptly embarked on steamboats. Upon reaching Montgomery, Ball's troops would be disembarked and rushed to Opelika by rail. The horses and supply train belonging to the brigade would be left to follow at a more leisurely pace.

Mature reflection convinced Bragg that it would be impossible for the scattered Confederate detachments, reinforced by the home guards, to protect the vital railroad until Pillow's arrival. Bragg, accordingly, sent a message to General Johnston informing him that it would be impossible for Lee, with the force at his disposal, to defend the Montgomery and West Point Railroad.<sup>49</sup>

At the time of Bragg's arrival in Montgomery, there were very few troops in the state capital. Several companies of boys who had been enrolled at the age of 17 were hurriedly returned to the city from south Alabama. The only military experience which these striplings had gained in their six months tour was guard duty and drill. All told, these companies mustered less than 400 officers and men. In addition, there was a detachment of cadets from the University at Tuscaloosa. A company of reserves composed of men too old for the draft was also available.

The defenders of Montgomery were armed with muskets which had been rebored and rifled to fire "Chamber ounce balls". These pieces were fired with a loud noise, but were very inaccurate at ranges in excess of 100 yards. This need not

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<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, 887; O. R., Series I, Vol. III, pt. II, 708.

have been, because there were thousands of splendid Enfield rifled-muskets stored at the Selma arsenal. As a result of the confusion which developed in the wake of the emergency, no one saw fit to requisition these fine weapons.

On the night of the 17th, the officers mustered and marched their men to the depot. An engine with several boxcars was standing on the spur. After much hard work, the soldiers succeeded in loading two cannons and their caissons in the cars. Next, came the artillery horses. This business taken care of, the soldiers clambered aboard. Amid shouts of encouragement and goodbyes, the train pulled away from the depot and headed east.<sup>50</sup>

Following an early reveille on the morning of the 18th, Rousseau assembled his brigade and regimental commanders. This meeting took place in the building which the general had requisitioned for his headquarters. At this gathering, Rousseau outlined for his subordinates the day's plan of action. Colonel Hamilton, with his regiment (the 9th Ohio), would move eastward from Loachapoka, destroying the railroad as he advanced. Major Harlon Baird of the 5th Iowa would select a detachment from his own regiment and the 4th Tennessee. With this force, Baird was to proceed to Chehaw Station. The 8th Indiana, Colonel Jones commanding, would move to Notasulga. At these two villages, located twelve and six miles west of Loachapoka, Baird's and Jones' troopers would begin wrecking the railroad. Baird's command was to work eastward, while Jones' Indianians moved westward until they formed a junction. Lieutenant Colonel Elijah S. Watts' 2d Kentucky was to march westward from Loachapoka to Notasulga. The Kentuckians were to destroy the section of railroad between these two points.

As the meeting broke up, Rousseau reminded his officers that, if each one carried out his assignment, it would be some time before the Confederate government would again funnel supplies to the defenders of Atlanta over the vital Montgomery and West Point Railroad.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 539.

<sup>51</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 907-908.

Moving eastward from Loachapoka, Colonel Hamilton's Ohioans tore up the railroad. No resistance was encountered by Hamilton's troopers until they approached Auburn.

Only two days earlier, a vigorous Confederate officer of the 4th Tennessee Infantry (Captain Thomas H. Francis) had assumed command at Auburn. Francis, on the evening of the 17th, had learned that the bluecoats were in possession of Loachapoka. Lacking any force with which to defend Auburn, Francis called upon the local militia and the convalescents in the Texas Hospital for volunteers. Despite the captain's exertions, he was able to rally less than a score of men. This motley force was armed with shotguns and mounted upon impressed horses. Nevertheless, Francis prepared to contest the bluecoats' advance.

Hoping to bolster his small command, Francis wired the Confederate commander at Columbus, requesting arms and reinforcements. Learning that no aid would be forthcoming, Francis mustered his small patrol. At a word from the captain, the troopers swung into their saddles. Captain Francis led his small detachment westward. The captain's object was to observe the Union column and see if he could ascertain its strength.

Several miles west of Auburn, Francis' patrol sighted the railroad-wrecking 9th Ohio Cavalry. Taking cover, the Confederates opened fire on the bluecoated fatigue parties. Surprised, the Ohioans scrambled for cover. Colonel Hamilton was a tested veteran. Quickly recovering his poise, he rallied his command. Surging forward, the Yankees—their rugged colonel in the van—flushed and scattered the butternuts. When Captain Francis observed the great strength of the Federal force sweeping toward his badly outnumbered patrol, he shouted for his men to disperse. Putting the spurs to their horses, most of the greyclads succeeded in escaping.

The Federals entered Auburn hot on the heels of the fleeing Rebels. Riding into the town, the Northerners were greeted by a host of Negroes. While a Union demolition team applied the torch to the Depot and a large supply of lumber stacked nearby, the Negroes took advantage of the situation (the tempo-



rary departure of their masters and the presence of the Federals). They broke into and began to plunder the stores.<sup>52</sup>

Leaving the milling Negroes in possession of Auburn, the Ohioans continued eastward, ripping up the rails as they advanced. Three miles beyond Auburn the raiders sighted a locomotive rapidly approaching from the direction of Opelika. It seemed incredible that news of their activities was so slow in spreading. Before the startled engineer could throw his engine into reverse, it was surrounded by a mounted patrol of grim Yankees. After seeing to the destruction of the locomotive and the paroling of the trainmen (the engineer, brakeman and fireman), Hamilton called a halt. Considering the late hour and the approach of darkness, the colonel ordered his men to bivouac for the night.<sup>53</sup>

In accordance with the instructions from General Rousseau Colonel Jones' and Major Baird's combat teams rode westward from Loachapoka. These two commands were intent on carrying out their assignments. At Notasulga, where Colonel Jones' Hoosiers were to begin their work of destruction, the two commands parted. Major Baird's Iowans and Tennesseans continued on to Chehaw Station.

While part of Jones' combat team was put to work tearing up track, a demolition team visited Camp Watts. This camp was an assembly point for casuals and conscripts. It contained a number of temporary buildings which would afford shelter to between 2,000 and 3,000 men. Except for about 100 patients quartered in the infirmary, Camp Watts was devoid of Confederate soldiers. After the Indianians had paroled the convalescents, the camp—along with the large amount of quartermaster and commissary supplies stockpiled there—was burned. The only building in the entire cantonment area spared by the blue-coats was the base hospital.<sup>54</sup>

In the meantime, the train carrying the Confederate troops eastward from Montgomery neared the scene of the Union oper-

<sup>52</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. III, 973.

<sup>53</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 907.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 908.

ations. At first, the train had made as good time as the wretched condition of the roadbed would allow. On approaching Chehaw Station, the officer in charge, fearing an ambush, directed the engineer to slow down. After passing through Chehaw Station, the train cautiously approached the trestle over Ufaupsee Creek. Guards posted aboard the cab and tender kept a close watch for hostile signs. After having crossed the trestle, the train rumbled eastward. A mile beyond Ufaupsee Creek, the track passed through a swamp. Emerging from the swamp, it "curved toward the first ridge sloping away from the bottom land".

Suddenly, there was a shot. A ball from a Spencer carbine crashed between the legs of a soldier perched on top of one of the cars. The engineer slammed on the brakes; the train ground to a stop.

In response to their officers' orders, the shouting troops leaped to the ground. Forming into line of battle, they advanced on either side of the roadbed. As yet, the greyclads had not seen any of the foe.

As they approached Chehaw Station, the troopers of Baird's vanguard sighted the oncoming train. After throwing forward a small scouting force, Baird posted his troopers in the edge of a thick wood. A shot fired by one of the scouts alerted the Rebels and enabled them to avoid falling into a trap. After the Confederates had detrained, the bluecoats held their fire. Baird wanted to wait until the greyclad battle line had closed to within effective range. When Baird gave the order, his troopers sent a volley crashing into the oncoming battle line.

When the Federals had disclosed their position, the battle began. For the next several minutes, the fighting raged hot and heavy. Men were cut down, killed or wounded.<sup>55</sup>

Several minutes of brisk skirmishing convinced Baird that, if he were to cut his way through the Rebel roadblock, he would have to be reinforced. A staff officer was sent racing eastward.

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<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*; Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 540-541.

His mission was to acquaint Rousseau with the situation. Upon being notified of Baird's difficulties, Rousseau called for Colonel Harrison. The colonel was ordered to send the 8th Indiana Cavalry to the hard-pressed Baird's support. Without a moment's hesitation, Harrison directed Colonel Jones to have his men stop tearing up track and hasten to their comrades' support.<sup>56</sup>

In the meantime, the Confederate battle line had been forced to give ground. Shifting to the right and away from the railroad, the greyclads moved toward an old gin house which stood near the top of a hill in an open field. A rail fence, running at right angles to the railroad, bisected this field. East of the field was a deep ravine.

Taking cover behind the fence, the Southerners blazed away at the Union cavalrymen who were fighting dismounted. Unable to carry this position, Baird's troopers retired into the edge of the wood. Here, the colonel proposed to await the arrival of reinforcements, before attacking the Confederates' reorganized line of resistance. Unfortunately for the butter-nuts, they were still within range of the Yankees' Spencers. At the same time, they were unable to reach the Federals with their converted muskets. Consequently, the Rebel officers advanced one of their companies. Crossing the fence, the sharpshooters dashed forward. Taking cover in a swale, they sniped away at the Federals.

The fighting now died down, the first phase of the engagement ended with the Confederates in possession of the field.

A mounted militia detachment from Tuskegee now reached the field. Dismounting, the newcomers took position in the Confederate battle line. "Those who had just finished the brisk fighting welcomed them with thankful hearts, with cheers and waving. The Tuskegee militia, splendidly attired in brown linen uniforms, shouted challenges to the enemy to renew the battle, but the echo of their voices against the woods before them was the only answer."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 908.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*; Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 541.

Following the Union withdrawal, the Confederate officers made some readjustments in their battle line. The troops were posted in front of the fence, their right flank rested in a ravine, their left in a swamp north of the railroad. All told, the Rebel line was about one-half mile in length; the soldiers were about five paces apart. In the hurry to get off the train, only one cannon had been unloaded. This piece manned by a squad of University cadets was unlimbered near a farm road.<sup>58</sup>

When he reached the area, Colonel Harrison moved promptly to recover the initiative. After a hasty reconnaissance, Harrison directed Major Baird to use his command to pin the Confederates in position. While Baird's troops launched a frontal attack, Colonel Jones would try to turn the Rebel left with his command—the 8th Indiana Cavalry.

It was a little past the noon hour when Baird's troopers renewed the attack. Taking cover on a wooded hill opposite the greyclad's center, the Federals opened fire. The Confederates replied. Working their way slowly forward, Baird's dismounted cavalymen sought to beat down the butternuts with a withering fire from their Spencers. At the same time, a combat patrol from the 8th Indiana swept around the Confederate left. Thrown into confusion by this development, the Rebel units on the left retreated across the railroad and headed for the ravine where the right flank companies were posted.<sup>59</sup>

The roar of battle was too much for the artillery horses. Suddenly, the team stampeded. Before the cadets could stop them, the gun had been upset. Kicking and pawing, the terrified beasts soon broke loose from the traces and disappeared into the surrounding woods.<sup>60</sup>

Hoping to take advantage of the foe's discomfiture, Major Baird bellowed orders for his men to charge! Assailed from two sides, the butternuts took to their heels. After following

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<sup>58</sup>Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 542.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*; O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 908.

<sup>60</sup>Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 542.

the retreating Confederates a short distance, the bluecoats returned to the railroad. Mustering their commands, the officers found that they had lost 13 men in the engagement—3 killed and 10 wounded.

After wreaking havoc on the section of the Montgomery and West Point Railroad between Chehaw Station and Notasulga, Baird's and Jones' combat teams returned to Loachapoka. Here they rendezvoused with Colonel Watt's Kentuckians. Watts' troopers had encountered no difficulties in carrying out their mission—the destruction of the six miles of track lying between Loachapoka and Notasulga.<sup>61</sup>

As soon as all the detachments which had been operating west of Loachapoka had returned on the afternoon of the 18th, Rousseau ordered "Boots and Saddles" sounded. Swinging into their saddles, the raiders moved eastward toward Opelika. Three miles east of Auburn, the column overtook Colonel Hamilton's Ohioans, who were busy setting up camp. Despite the knowledge that there was a shortage of forage and water in the area, Rousseau took cognizance of the exhausted condition of his command. Consequently, he gave the order to bivouac.<sup>62</sup>

Following the Federals' withdrawal, the Alabamans slowly emerged from the swamp where they had taken cover. Reforming their units, the officers deployed the men across the railroad—a useless gesture, since the bluecoats had completed their work of destruction.

The remainder of the long, hot afternoon was spent in burying the dead, succoring the wounded, and loading the gear and casualties on the train. A guard was posted along the railroad and at the bridge over Ufaupsee Creek. There was a wide divergence in Confederate reports of their losses in the battle. The *Selma Morning Dispatch* of July 27 gave the Southern casualties as 65 killed or wounded. Adjutant E. E. McCroskey, in the same paper, listed the total as 39. The *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser* for July 20 reported the Alabamans' losses as 6 killed and 40 to 50 wounded or missing.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 908.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup>Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 543-544.



The absence of any Confederate cavalry in central Alabama served to hamstring Bragg's efforts to bag the Union raiders. Pending the arrival of Pillow's command, Bragg had to rely on the hodgepodge of militia, reserves, and casuals, stiffened by a few regulars which he had collected at Montgomery. As we have seen, this motley force was rushed eastward on the night of the 17th. Bragg knew that these troops would be unable to overtake the foe, but he hoped they might be able to check their depredations.

In a telegram to the Confederate authorities at Atlanta, Bragg pointed out that the raiders, after cutting the railroad, were believed to be striking eastward. Bragg closed his message on a dismal note. He confessed that the situation was "most unsatisfactory". The only remedy, he believed, would be for the Army of Tennessee to assume a more active role.<sup>14</sup>

At daybreak on the 19th, Rousseau again assembled his brigade and regimental commanders. After his subordinates had reported, the general briefed them on their day's assignments. Colonel Patrick (accompanied by the 5th Iowa and the 4th Tennessee) was to dash into Opelika, burn the depot, and tear up the Montgomery and West Point Railroad east of the town. Colonel Harrison, with the 8th Indiana and the 2d Kentucky, would move directly upon Opelika. Colonel Hamilton's 9th Ohio was to bypass Opelika and strike the Columbus Railroad, two miles southeast of town. After reaching the railroad, Hamilton's troops were to advance on Opelika from the southeast. Harrison's and Hamilton's commands would tear up the track and burn the bridges as they converged upon Opelika.<sup>15</sup>

After the staff meeting had adjourned, the officers rejoined their commands. In expectation of an early start, the units had already been mustered. The three Federal combat teams encountered no opposition, and were able to complete their assignments by 10 a.m. Besides tearing up the track, the bluecoats destroyed the turntable, the Y, and six cars (loaded

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<sup>14</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 888.

<sup>15</sup>O. R., Series 1, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. II, 908.



with leather, nails and shovels) which were spotted on the Opelika spur.

Within the town, the Yankees located 20,000 pounds of bacon, 10,000 pounds of sugar, and 12,000 pounds of floor. In accordance with Rousseau's instructions, a portion of these stores was issued to his command, the remainder were destroyed.

As soon as his subordinates had reported that they had carried out their assignments, Rousseau determined to strike for friendly territory. The general felt confident that the destruction of over 30 miles of track, a number of bridges, the depots at Opelika, Auburn, Lochapoka, and Notasulga (as well as the water tank at Notasulga) would keep the vital Montgomery and West Point Railroad out of operation for a considerable length of time. Taking into consideration the hard marches his men would be called upon to make during the next several days, Rousseau halted his command in a field a mile north of Opelika. Here, he permitted his tired troopers to rest for several hours.

While the men took it easy, Rousseau conferred with his principal subordinates. A route was mapped out by the officers, which they believed would enable the command to rendezvous with Sherman, near Marietta, Georgia.<sup>67</sup>

By mid-afternoon, Rousseau had his men in the saddle. The column moved northward, taking the road which followed the watershed of the Tallapoosa and Chattahoochee rivers. Nightfall overtook the bluecoats as they were passing through Chambers Court House. Rousseau, fearing pursuit, decided to push on. It was midnight before the general permitted the troopers to bivouac for the rest of the night.

Breaking camp at dawn, the bluecoats passed through Bethlehem, near where they had spent the night. At Wedowee, the column veered into a northeasterly direction and moved up the valley of the Little Tallapoosa. At Eastville, near the Alabama-

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<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, 909.

Georgia line, the Yankees stopped for the night. During the day's march, the troopers had covered 35 miles.

On the 21st, the Yankees entered Georgia. After passing through Carrollton, they halted for the night east of Villa Rica. The next day (the 22d), the raiders (the size of their column by the addition of several hundred Negroes who had deserted their masters, and about 700 head of horses and mules confiscated from their owners) reached Marietta. During the 120-mile march from Opelika to Marietta, the Federals had encountered no organized opposition. In fact, the only uniformed Rebels sighted were two officers, who were captured as the Union column swept through Villa Rica.

From Marietta, Rousseau telegraphed Sherman the details of his highly successful raid on the Montgomery and West Point Railroad. At the moment, the desperate Confederate attack on the Army of the Tennessee east of Atlanta was occupying the fiery Sherman's attention. Sherman, accordingly, was unable to immediately acknowledge Rousseau's message.<sup>68</sup>

It was early the next morning before Sherman found time to congratulate Rousseau for a job well done. Later in the day, Sherman notified Washington that Rousseau had returned from his highly successful dash on the Montgomery and West Point Railroad.<sup>69</sup>

On the 19th, the steamboats carrying Colonel Ball's brigade tied up at Montgomery. Since the troopers' mounts had not reached Montgomery, Bragg ordered Pillow to rush Ball's men to Chehaw Station by Rail. Upon their arrival at Chehaw Station, Ball's troopers were to attack and dislodge the raiders from the railroad.

By the time the troop trains reached Chehaw Station, the Federals had evacuated Opelika. About 30 miles of twisted track and fire-blackened bridges separated Pillow's punitive force from the foe. As soon as Ball's men had detrained, Pillow led them eastward. The general hoped that somehow he might

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<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup>*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 235.

overtake the raiders. Before the Rebels had marched very far, darkness overtook them. Apparently, having decided that the chase would be fruitless, Pillow permitted the men to camp for the night.<sup>70</sup>

Satisfied that A. J. Smith's bluecoats were falling back to Memphis, General Lee decided it was imperative that he visit Montgomery. Lee felt it would be necessary for him to devote his personal attention to the efforts to turn back the Federal raiders. Boarding a train near Tupelo, Lee hastened to Meridian. At Meridian, he changed trains. Accompanied by Polk's troops, the general proceeded to Selma, where he arrived on the 19th. Here, Lee learned (from what he considered an unimpeachable source) that another, and stronger, raiding force was approaching Talladega. After wiring instructions for his staff at Meridian to rush all available troops in the area to Selma, Lee relayed this information to General Bragg.<sup>71</sup>

Bragg, casting about for troops to oppose this new threat, wired Atlanta to be on the alert. The Atlanta authorities in turn telegraphed General Clanton to be on the lookout for this raiding force. Clanton, having misinterpreted the route Rousseau would follow, had concentrated his brigade at West Point.<sup>72</sup>

By the time Lee reached Montgomery on the afternoon of the 20th, Bragg had learned that the Federals, after badly damaging the railroad, had apparently escaped. He was certain that Ball's dismounted troopers would be unable to overtake the will-o'-the-wisp raiders.

In a message addressed to the Richmond authorities, Bragg pointed out that even if the repair crews were undisturbed, considerable time would elapse before normal service over the Montgomery and West Point Railroad could be restored.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 894, 897.

<sup>71</sup>*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. III, pt. II, 709.

<sup>72</sup>*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXXVIII, pt. V, 898.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 897. On the 20th, Bragg received a message from Richmond inquiring into the possibility of placing General Lee in command of the corps of the Army of Tennessee, formerly led by General John B. Hood. Two days before, General Hood had relieved General Johnston as commander of the Army of Tennessee.

Before another 48 hours had passed into history, the Rebel brass learned that there was no substance to the reports telling of a new and stronger raiding force moving southward from the Tennessee Valley. Simultaneously, it dawned on the Confederate officers that Rousseau had probably made good his escape. The Confederate leaders felt certain that the Yankees would, at the first opportunity, send out another raiding force. Lee, prior to relinquishing the command of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, sought to bolster the greyclad forces in central Alabama. He issued instructions for Roddey's brigade, which had participated in the battle of Tupelo, to be rushed to Selma by rail.<sup>74</sup>

Before returning to Atlanta, Bragg made a last-minute administrative change in the department. General Pillow was relieved of his command and directed to report to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper for further orders. To Pillow's place as the officer in charge of the troops (Ball's brigade and a brigade of reserves) charged with the defense of the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, Bragg assigned Major General Jones M. Withers.<sup>75</sup>

Unlike most Civil War cavalymen, it appears that Rousseau's raiders did a very effective job of tearing up the strategic raidroad. For the harassed Army of Tennessee, then engaged in the defense of Atlanta, this was a heavy blow. In a period of less than 37 hours, the army had lost its railroad link with the grain-producing Alabama Black Belt and the munition factories at Selma.

In an effort to bridge the 30-mile gap torn in the railroad between Chehaw Station and Opelika, the Confederate quartermaster at Montgomery frantically advertised for 200 wagons with teams and drivers. These would be employed to transport badly needed supplies across the destroyed section of the railroad. General Maury, who had assumed temporary command of the department on July 25 following Lee's departure, cut through reams of red tape. He ordered Major George Whitfield of the Railroad Bureau to supervise the necessary reconstruction

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<sup>74</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. II, 724.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 721, 723-724.

of the railroad. The general authorized Whitfield to use the iron of the Newbern branch of the Alabama and Mississippi Rivers Road for rebuilding the Montgomery and West Point. The Engineer Bureau sent Lieutenant Colonel Minor Meriwether. From Atlanta came Captain L. F. Grant to survey the damage. Even Bragg sought to take charge. From Columbus he suggested, with the backing of interested citizens, the completion of the unfinished Montgomery-Union Springs-Girard route in lieu of the reconstruction of the narrow gage Montgomery and West Point. Bragg's recommendation was seconded by Hood.<sup>76</sup>

Out of this welter of confusion one factor quickly emerged. The repair of the damage to the Montgomery and West Point would consume less iron than the construction of a new railroad. The Union Springs plan was dropped. By August 14, Whitfield found himself hard at work supervising the laying of track. With the help of his colleague from the Bureau, Major J. M. Hottel, he pushed his construction gangs steadily forward. Before the end of August, trains were again running over the entire length of the Montgomery and West Point.<sup>77</sup>

It appears to the military historian that Rousseau's raid on the Montgomery and West Point Railroad was one of the most successful cavalry strikes of the entire Civil War. In addition to wreaking such havoc upon a 30-mile section of the railroad that, despite the vigorous exertions of the Confederate authorities, service was interrupted for six critical weeks, the bluecoats had bested the Rebels in two sharp clashes. Reaching Marietta following his 13-day stay in "Secessia", Rousseau reported his total loses as 12 killed and 30 wounded.

In the entire annals of this bitter conflict, it would be very difficult to discover another cavalry operation of this type where so much damage was inflicted upon the adversary, at such a small cost to the side undertaking the raid. In fact, Rousseau had succeeded in conserving the strength of his com-

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<sup>76</sup>Robert C. Black, III, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1952), 251.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*

mand to a marked degree. So much so, that Sherman, early on the 23rd, less than 24 hours after the raiders had reached Marietta, ordered Rousseau to move his force to the Chattahoochie. There, he would relieve the cavalry force commanded by Major General George Stoneman, which had been watching the Chattahoochie below Turner's Ferry.<sup>78</sup>

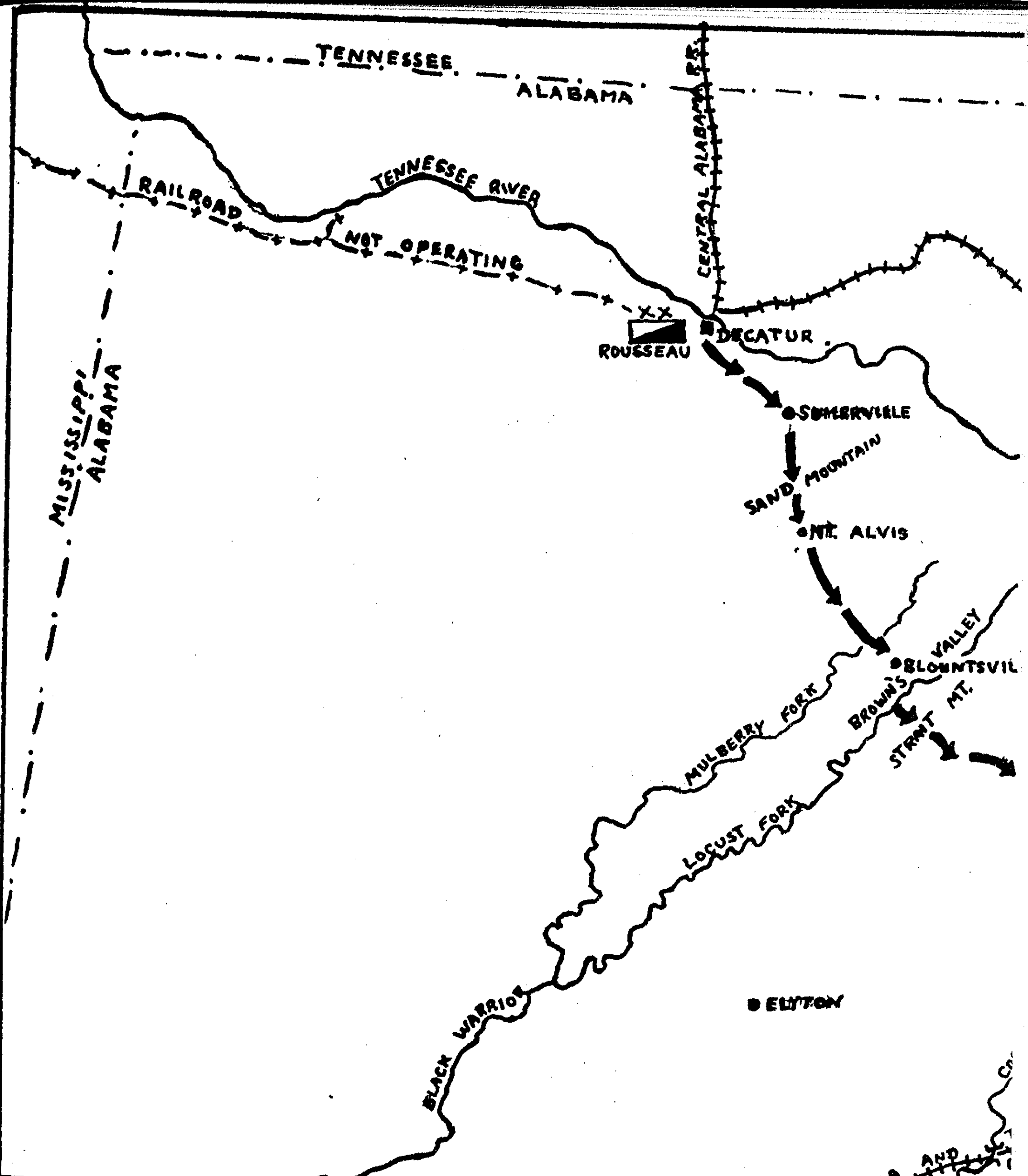
The editor of the *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, on August 10, 1864, observed caustically, "We doubt whether any other raiding party since the commencement of hostilities, comprising no more men has penetrated as far into the country, done as much damage, and succeeding in escaping with so little loss."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>O. R., Series I, Vol. XXXIX, pt. V, 235-236.

<sup>79</sup>Fretwell, "Rousseau's Alabama Raid", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 547.

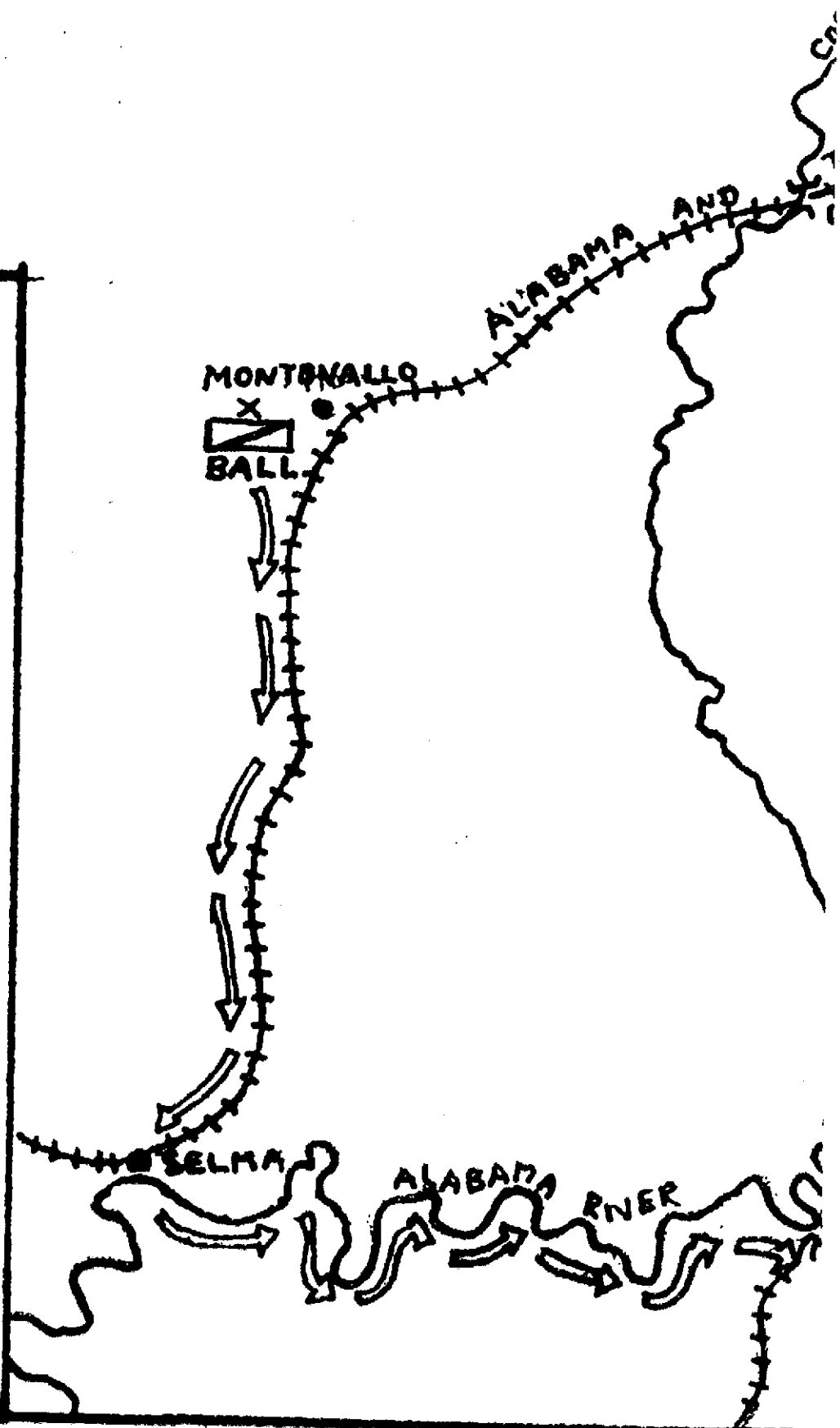
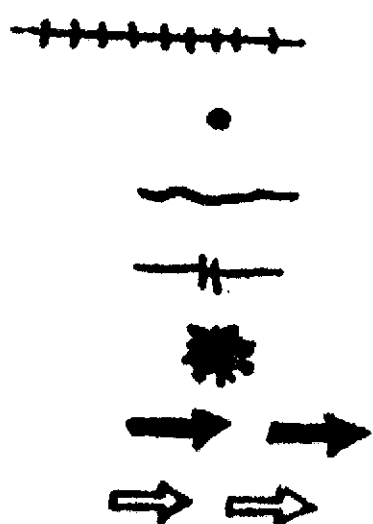


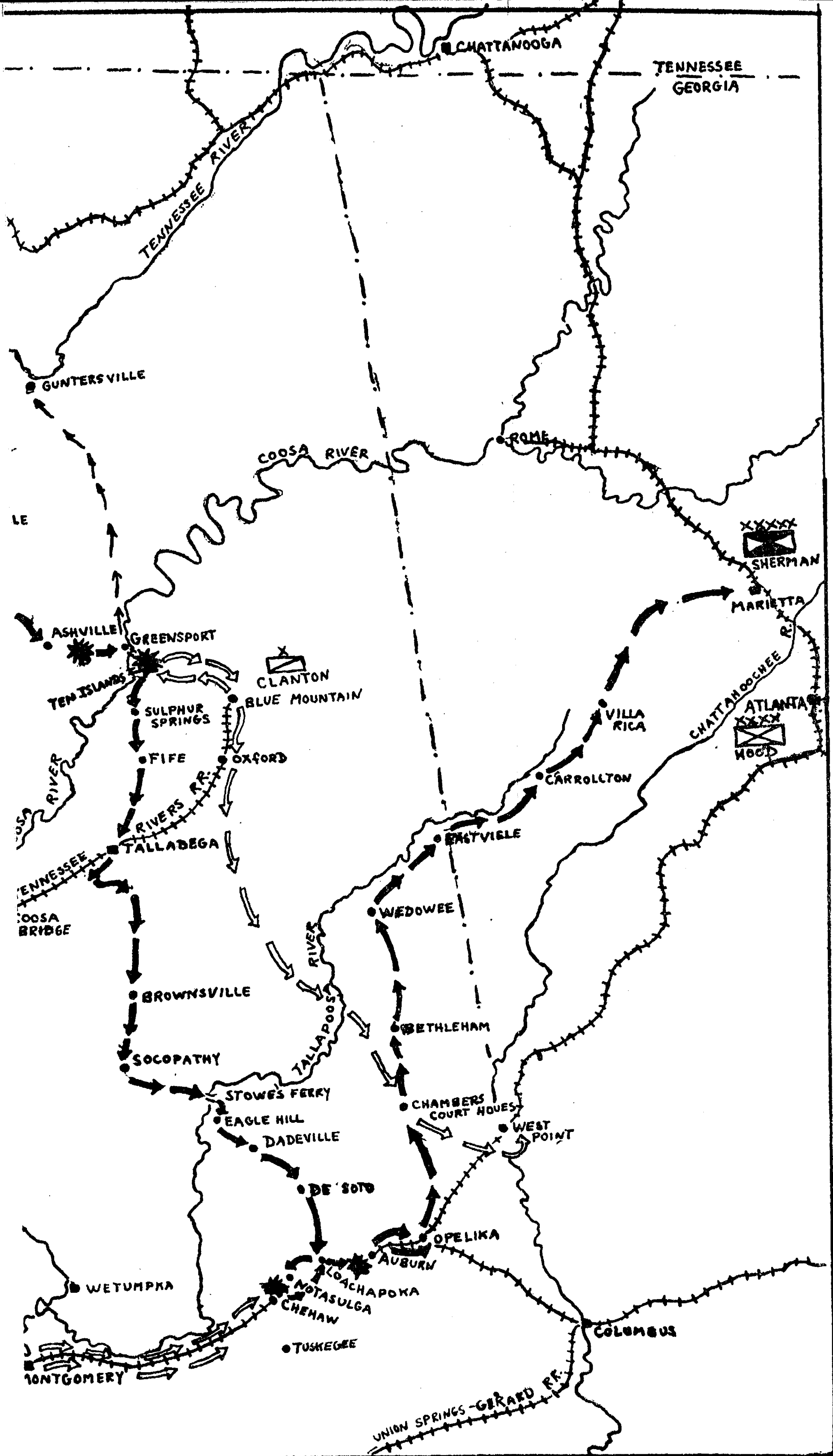


# ROUSSEAU'S RAID ON THE MONTGOMERY AND WEST POINT RAILROAD

0 10 20 30 MILES  
SCALE

- RAILROADS
- CITIES AND TOWNS
- RIVERS
- FORDS AND FERRIES
- ENGAGEMENTS
- ROUSSEAU'S ROUTE
- CONFEDERATE MOVEMENTS





"THE MONEY MATTERS"  
OF A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER

*By*

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*Auburn, Alabama*

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Much excellent material has been published on both the inadequacy of the Confederate financial system and the hardships of service in the Confederate Armies. But little has been written on the connection between the two. Obviously, there was a definite relationship between currency, "the life blood of the Confederacy," and the daily life of Johnny Reb.<sup>1</sup> The financial materials in the letters of Private-Sergeant Hiram Talbert Holt provide an interesting case study of how "money matters" affected the life of a Confederate soldier.<sup>2</sup>

Holt was born July 16, 1835, Choctaw Corner, Clark County, Alabama. Before the Civil War he was a school teacher and operator of a "little farm" in Clarke County. He owned no slaves. On September 1, 1859, he married one of his pupils, Angeline Caroline DeWitt, the "Dear Carrie" of the letters.

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<sup>1</sup>For a treatment of Confederate financial policies and problems, see E. Merton Coulter, **The Confederate States of America: 1861-65** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), pp. 149-83, 219-39; for an account of the food and clothing shortages, see Bell I. Wiley, **The Life of Johnny Reb: the Common Soldier of the Confederacy** (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), pp. 90-123.

<sup>2</sup>Hiram Tolbert Holt to Angeline Caroline Holt, April 11, 1861-February 17, 1864. These letters are the property of Miss Alma DeWitt, granddaughter of Holt, Port Joe, Fla., formerly of Fulton, Ala. For permission to use the letters and for information furnished about the Holt family, the writer is most grateful to Miss DeWitt. Hereafter, all letters cited, unless otherwise noted, are from Holt to his wife; only the date will be given.

Holt's army career covered a three-year period. He enlisted as a private in the Suggsville Greys, a volunteer company from Clarke County, sometime before March 4, 1861. From soon after March 4, 1861, until after February 26, 1862, he was stationed at Fort Morgan and nearby Fort Gaines, Alabama. Sometime during the early spring he was made first sergeant of his company and around April 1 was sent to Fort Pillow, Tennessee, where he was under bombardment for eighteen days and nights. However, he was evacuated before the fort fell and returned to the vicinity of Mobile. On June 12, 1862, he was assigned as first sergeant to Company I, 38th Alabama Infantry; and, with this regiment, during the spring of 1863, he was transferred to the Army of Tennessee. With the 38th he took part in the skirmishing around Tullahoma, in the retreat across the mountains and rivers to Chattanooga, in the battle of Chickamauga, in the early phase of the fighting on Missionary Ridge, and in the fighting around Dalton, Georgia. During the fighting on Missionary Ridge, he contracted rheumatism and was confined to St. Mary's Hospital, La Grange, Georgia, for several weeks during the last part of 1863.<sup>3</sup>

During his three years in the army, Holt wrote many letters to his wife and a few to other members of his family—138 of these have been preserved. These letters contain an enormous amount of material on various aspects of life in the Confederacy,<sup>4</sup> including much detailed information on "money matters."<sup>5</sup>

Holt had two main purposes in writing about money: to keep Carrie "posted" on his financial conditions and to instruct and advise her and other members of his family on financial affairs on the home front. Consequently, the letters contain much information on matters not immediately related to Holt's problems. Most of the reports are clear and direct and need no explanation; but on the very important matter of army pay Holt seemed purposely vague; for example, at no time does he

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<sup>3</sup>The names of these places as well as all dates given were taken from the headings of the letters.

<sup>4</sup>The edited typescript of the letters contains 498 pages.

<sup>5</sup>This phrase which seems most descriptive of Holt's financial affairs is first found in the letter of May 23, 1861.

mention the date of pay day or the amount received.<sup>6</sup> Since, as is made obvious by the contents of the letters, nearly all of this soldier's problems were due to the inadequacies and irregularities in pay, it is necessary, before considering the details of the reports, to give some definite information on this vital subject.

As a private, Holt's promised pay was \$11.00 a month and as a first sergeant \$20.00; moreover, like other Confederate soldiers, he was supposed to receive his pay at two or four month's intervals.<sup>7</sup> The contents of the letters suggest that he expected his pay around February 20, June 20, and October 20 of each year; but there is no evidence that he was ever at any time paid promptly and in full. On the contrary, there is an abundance of material indicating that his pay was nearly always in arrears.<sup>8</sup> If Holt had received his total pay for three years in the army, it would have, according to the writer's estimate, amounted to \$531.00 in depreciated Confederate currency.<sup>9</sup>

Evidently Holt went to Fort Morgan without money or spent the little he possessed soon after he reached the place. For on April 11, the day before the firing on Fort Sumter, he reported, "I still try to write to you by borrowing from my friends."<sup>10</sup> In the same letter, he emphasized the importance of money to a Confederate soldier and made clear his own attitude regarding the matter: "Jack wished to know if I wanted money. Tell him Yes! Yes! All I can get, the more money the easier the time." Throughout his army career, Holt always

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<sup>6</sup>There is some evidence in the letters that Holt omitted this information, because he did not want possible thieves or borrowers to know the amount of money either he or Carrie possessed.

<sup>7</sup>Mark Mayo Boatner, III, **The Civil War Dictionary** (New York, 1959), pp. 624-25.

<sup>8</sup>In his letter of June 20, 1861, Holt states that he was "looking for money" and a few days later stated that the government was failing to pay; and throughout the letters there is evidence that these dates were his pay days.

<sup>9</sup>From Feb. 1862 to May 1863, a total of fifteen months, he served as an orderly sergeant, during which time he earned \$300.00. The rest of the time, twenty-one months, he served as a private and earned \$231.00.

<sup>10</sup>Holt seemed always to have been able to borrow both money and things from his fellow soldiers.

wanted money for the purpose of making times easier for himself, his family, and his fellow soldiers. Specifically, Holt needed money to "come home on"; he needed it for Carrie's and his baby's upkeep;<sup>11</sup> he needed it to purchase his own food, clothing, and certain necessities and comforts; he needed it for the purchase of certain articles and supplies not produced in Clark County, essentials which his family needed very much; he needed it to pay debts; and, most important of all to him, he needed it to pay for letters.

On April 13, 1861, he began his efforts to make times easier for himself and his companions when he sent a call for help to Carrie's brother Josey:<sup>12</sup> "Cant you get up a subscription & go all over the country around the Corner & get some help by way of money for us. Common Charty requirs this your duty to your fellow man to your Country & to your God requirs it...it is impossible for you to know the wants of the soldiers at Fort Morgan unless you were here a week or so."

Josey promptly informed Holt that times were as hard in Clarke County as at Fort Morgan. "Times" he wrote on April 20, "are unusually hard. It is impossible to get money from the fact that there are none in the country...I have made every effort that I could to raise money but have met with no luck."

The folks at home could not send Holt money, but they could and did send him food. On April 19, he reported that he received "a fine lot of eggs...which was duly appreciated." In fact, his people furnished him so well that he reported on May 23, that he was "getting along finely" in everything "unless it be money matters." At this time, as so often in the future, his chief cash need was for the payment of letters—his letters to Carrie and her letters to him.

The importance of letters to Holt can scarcely be exaggerated. As he once explained to his wife, soldiers suffer far more

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<sup>11</sup>Holt and Carrie had two children: Alma Drucilla born March 7, 1861 and Caroline born Aug. (?), 1863.

<sup>12</sup>Carrie had three brothers: Josey, Jack, and Lewis. All of them served in the Confederate Army.



"mentally" than "bodily"; and, as the letters make plain, Holt's chief mental suffering was caused by no letters from Carrie. "Your letters are my life at Fort Morgan," he told Carrie; and, in the same letter in which he requested Josey to try to raise money for his company, he wrote: "I would rather receive a letter than 10 Dollars as bad as I need money."<sup>13</sup> Certainly, nothing so well illustrates the anguish which "no money" could bring to this lonely soldier as do the passages on letters.

Holt was able at times to borrow money for letters and at other times able to send them home by returning soldiers or visitors; but Carrie seemed to have been less fortunate. On April 11, Holt stated that he had received only one letter from his wife; and on April 25, he stated he had written her "24 letters" but had received "only 3 or 4." "No letters" made him feel "melancholly." He even imagined that he might "be writing to a dead wife" or to a wife who was "reduced to so great a poverty that you can't buy envelopes & stamps." Such thoughts he added "forever fill my mind & benumb my soul."<sup>14</sup>

Evidently Carrie informed her husband that she was not dead but only broke; for on May 3 he wrote her "I will try to send you a little money soon as I can get some in order that you may write." On May 5, he told her "I try to keep a little money to pay the postage & letters to you."<sup>15</sup>

Although he made every effort to do so, Holt was unable to keep money for the payment of letters, either for his letters to Carrie or her letters to him. One of his most touching "money" passages was written on June 19, 1861. At this time, he was "sick both in mind and body." He wrote:

Since I have not got the funds necessary to the mailing of a letter to you & not being able to leave you in memory, I will write to you and If I should chance to fall on some bloody battle field, then even these lines I trace

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<sup>13</sup>Dec. 2, May 2, April 13, 1861.

<sup>14</sup>April 13, 1861.

<sup>15</sup>Where Holt got this money he does not say. Perhaps, he borrowed it; perhaps, he sold some of the eggs which he reported receiving on April 19.

here may bring afresh scenes that perhaps have fled. For 12 long days I have watched eagerly for a letter from you, but none has come.<sup>16</sup>

On the very next day, June 20, this gloomy letter-writer had a chance to send Carrie a letter by Mr. Barnes;<sup>17</sup> and in this letter he changed from the "no money for letters" theme to the subject of pay day and furloughs, two subjects which would occupy his mind until his death. "Col. Maury," he wrote in this letter, "is now in command and gives furloughs. I'll come home as soon as I can get money which I am looking for, provided I can get a furlough."<sup>18</sup>

But he did not receive his expected pay and a few days later wrote: "Tell Jack he must come down by the first of July & bring some money with him, if he fails I may not be able to come home, as we can get no pay from the government, the Treasury is failing to pay."<sup>19</sup>

A month later, he still had not been paid, didn't have enough money to answer Carrie's letter immediately, some fruit which had been sent him evidently had been lost, and, worst of all, he had heard about the work of a speculator. Like so many Confederate soldiers, he turned his wrath on the speculators: "I must be content to waste my life here far from you . . . with nothing fit to eat, exposed in many ways while such as the Danzy's are living off the fat of the land. Dreadful indeed will be the last day of time to such as these."<sup>20</sup>

Holt was both melancholy and angry on July 26, but some-

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<sup>16</sup>Holt often had premonitions of death, his own and that of other members of his family. Mostly when he had no letters from Carrie.

<sup>17</sup>Mr. Barnes, like so many other people mentioned in the letters, could not be identified.

<sup>18</sup>Money for furloughs seemed almost as important to Holt as money for letters.

<sup>19</sup>June (?), 1861. This letter is in fragments, and much of it, including the heading, is missing; but it obviously was written between June 20 and July 1, 1861.

<sup>20</sup>July 16, 1861. Little is known of Danzy, except that Holt regarded him as an evil war speculator. On Sept. 24, 1862, Holt reported that Morris Danzy was in Camp at Mobile "trying to get the Dr. not to take him."

thing happened on the very next day that made him "joyous as a spring morning"—Carrie sent him a dime. The dime made him forget hard times, loneliness, speculators, and all other ills. Since this dime was the only cash which Holt mentioned receiving from home during his entire career and since it vividly illustrates his dire need of money, his reaction to its receipt is worth noting:

Dear Carrie: Today I received a letter from you, one of your dear sweet letters, that carried peace & joy to my soul. Also a dime for the purpose of sending you its value in letters. Carrie I will try my best to give value received to you, but feel that the attempt will be vain, indeed it is impossible to reward the kindness of so good a wife, for your dime, dear wife, receive the love thanks & tears of your husband.

There were other reasons why this soldier was happy on July 27, 1861, for in this letter he reported, with obvious gusto and in detail the great victory at Manassas Gap; and, in the same letter, he wrote: "I think we will be paid off to-morrow." Although Holt does not say that he drew his pay as expected, he did go home and presumably soon after July 27 and remained there until about September 1.<sup>21</sup>

In his letter of September 22, 1861, Holt mentioned for the first time a matter that would have a large place in many of his letters—that is, money making. Since this passage indicates Carrie's industry in furnishing Holt's clothing<sup>22</sup> and also his attitude toward her work, it is quoted in full: "Dear Carrie, you wrote to me that you had me a pair of pants nearly ready. I love you more for your kindness than you can think, but Carrie let us reason together, I have plenty of clothing yet, would it not be better for you to sell them? I think it would."

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<sup>21</sup>Sept. 2, 1861.

<sup>22</sup>With the exception of two coats, one issued by the government and the other given him by a soldier, Carrie and the DeWitt and Holt families apparently furnished Holt with all of his clothing, most of which was made by Carrie.

The fall of 1861 seemed to have been an especially hard period for Holt. Fort Morgan was harassed by the Union Blockading Fleet; he had a bad case of chills and fever; food was at times scarce; for example, he reported on October 29, "we haven't had anything but bread & coffee for 2 days"; and, worst of all, he didn't have enough money to pay for letters to Carrie. Lack of money for postage did not stop Holt from writing. He sent them without prepaying the postage and gave Carrie the following explanation for doing so: "Carrie you have noticed for some time I have not prepaid the postage on my letters to you, don't think hard of it, it is that you may get them. Next pay-day I will send you some money to pay my letters out."<sup>23</sup>

According to the assumption made above, Holt was supposed to receive his pay around October 20; but he had not received it on November 3. For the next two months he gave Carrie a series of no pay no money reports: On November 9, he told her "As soon as we get paid off I want to send you a *little money*, if a *little* it will do you some good at least." To his letter of November 12, he added the "P. S." "We hav'nt been paid off yet." By November 20, he was ashamed of not fulfilling his promises and worried about Carrie's need of money: "I reckon you think I'm slow about sending you money I promised you. I think so too, but it is because they hav'nt paid us off yet. I know you need it badly, don't you"? On December 2, the story was unchanged: "Carrie we have not been paid off yet, which event I am looking for with anxiety, you know why." On December 12, he told Carrie he was going to ask for a furlough "provided they ever pay us off."

Evidently, "they" gave him part of his pay as a Christmas present, for he wrote, on December 29, "I feel less compunction now in writing to you, that I know you have some money at command."

Holt had some money during January 1862, presumably a part of his October pay. He sent Carrie money on two separate occasions and with each some interesting comments. On January 21, he wrote: Carrie I send you a dollar or two in this

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<sup>23</sup>Nov. 3, 1861.

letter, if you have a particular use for it, use it, but if not be careful to save it, as we will need all we can get when I get home."<sup>24</sup> Then he added, "I send it away to keep it from being stolen here, this will come safely to you." On January 25, he informed his wife "I sent you 3 dollars the other day." Apparently, he was not sure of this reaching her, for he later asked, "Has it come safely"?

It is interesting to note that there is only one reference to selling cotton in the Holt letters. This is in the "P. S." to the letter of January 4, 1862: "Carrie pa is right about cotton, I would not take a cent less than twenty cents a pound. It will soon be 50 in Europe, it is now 42 cents per pound even in New York. It is a great pity that the boys sold their cotton, tis so."<sup>25</sup>

In spite of the fact that on one occasion he reported the food "a disgrace,"<sup>26</sup> Holt must have had plenty to eat during this period, for, on February 11, he wrote:: "Carrie, you don't know how fat I am! I used to be proud of my looks, but now, I'm so fat, that I am ugly as anybody can be! I am ashamed of my looks that's a fact!"

There is no reference to his receiving the February pay, and future letters clearly indicated that he did not receive it on time.

There are no financial items in the letters between January 25 and May 7, 1862, perhaps because Holt was almost constantly on the move. For during this period, he was transferred from Fort Morgan to Fort Gaines where he apparently remained for only a few days; sometime prior to March 27 he reenlisted and became first sergeant of the reorganized Greys;<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>From Oct. 27, 1861 to Feb. 26, 1862, Holt repeatedly declared that he would not re-enlist; and that he would come home and live with Carrie on his farm. But, of course, he changed his mind, why he does not record.

<sup>25</sup>It is also interesting to note that, though he writes long and often about "crops," he says nothing at all about the growing and picking of cotton.

<sup>26</sup>Jan. 21, 1861

<sup>27</sup>There are no letters at all between the dates Feb. 26 and April 22, 1863. Presumably, Holt was at home during a large part of this period.



he was almost immediately sent to Fort Pillow Tennessee; and, after eighteen days there, returned to Mobile around May 1. He remained at Mobile for the next year. If Holt neglected his money reports during the past few months, he certainly made up for lost time during the spring and summer of 1862, beginning with his letter of May 7. To the perennial problems of no pay and hard times, he added the subject of money making.

Evidently Holt expected to receive his pay on May 8, for on May 7 he wrote his wife: "To-morrow I will send Slade<sup>28</sup> some money, a certain portion of which you can get as you may need it or as you call for it. I shall continue to do this as long as I am in the service. Clothe yourself comfortably & decently but economically as the nature of affairs will admit." Holt must have expected this to be a relatively large amount, for he wrote Carrie:: "Our parents must not be dealt with stingily, mind that, if at any time they should need money let them have what you can spare, but no living soul except *our parent, Mind that.*"

Holt, however, did not receive this expected money, nor does he say why he sent the optimistic message. But on May 23, he sent his wife a very different type of report: "Carrie I reckon you think I send money slowly. So I do for we have not drawn a cent of our wages yet, we thought to be paid weeks ago, but not so."

In the spring of 1862, the government was not only behind in paying Holt but also so irregular in feeding him that he was always half starving. "Many times," he wrote, "we go to eat and have nothing to eat but bread." In order to get food, he instructed his wife to "Tell Jim to get up what eggs & other things he can get and carry them to Albert Dumas & get him to ship them to me and I will pay him well for them when I get a chance."<sup>29</sup>

Holt does not say where he is going to get the money to

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<sup>28</sup>Slade is mentioned several times in the letters. Evidently he was a merchant in Clarke County, who could be trusted with the keeping of money.

<sup>29</sup>May 16, 1862.



pay Jim and Albert Dumas, but, evidently, he intended to pay them out of "mess" money. At any rate, he wrote his wife on May 22, that the company mess wished to buy some produce "If they can get it at a reasonable price say 25 or 30 cents per pound for bacon & usual price for lard, butter, eggs & C. We will send the money as soon as informed of the cost, trouble of hauling & C." In the same letter he wrote "If pa can purchase such things let him buy in quantity & send it to Foote Malone & Co<sup>30</sup> with instructions to send them to the Alabama Grays encamped below Mobile, and we will also pay him for his trouble.

Holt did not have money for the purchase of two pairs of shoes, but he obviously had credit in Clarke County; for he wrote Carrie to have "Dalberg" make them for him and that he would pay later.<sup>31</sup>

On June 2, he sent Carrie "a few dollars," and added, "It is all I've got." He does not say where he got the money, but it was not from his army pay; for on both June 4 and 10, he told Carrie he had not been paid. Perhaps, it was money which he had received from the sale of produce from home.

Money had many uses in the Confederacy; one of them was the hiring of a substitute.<sup>32</sup> Holt, on at least one occasion, toyed with the idea. Here is all he ever wrote about the subject: "Carrie I wonder if Pa could not get me a substitute for 15 or 20 days, some one over 35 years of age, if so, and he will come for a reasonable price, send him on, and I will come home on furlough, but I guess it is a bad chance, you need say nothing about it."<sup>33</sup> This is a puzzling passage. If Holt did not want Pa to see about a substitute, why did he mention the matter. Perhaps he was sending up a trial balloon, trying to discover how the home folks felt about the matter.

Food became so scarce during the summer of 1862 that Holt sanctioned stealing on two occasions. At this time it seemed to have been steal or starve. For the soldiers had no

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<sup>30</sup>Foote Malone & Company were commission merchants in Mobile.

<sup>31</sup>May 30, 1862.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>Wiley, *Johnny Reb*, 125-26.

money and the merchants and farmers would not extend them credit. Of one of these periods, Holt told Carrie, "We fare tolerably well now, but it is entirely on what we get from home & neighboring patches."<sup>34</sup>

Inflation began to affect Holt in a vital way and so he wrote on June 29, "Well Carrie, the next letter I write will cost 10cts postage dont forget." The lack of money not only hampered Holt's letter writing, but it also prevented him from keeping in close touch with his family. On July 6, he told Carrie that he wanted to telegraph about relatives who were in the fighting in Virginia, including his brother John, but stated "I havnt the money."<sup>35</sup>

Holt was still having trouble providing Carrie with money for letters. "You asked," he wrote on July 12, "about postal arrangements. I let Pool have some money at the River to pay postage which I guess he may have forgotten." He was now having trouble in sending money to Carrie, and immediately after he made his report on bad luck with postage, he wrote, "I sent you 5 dollars a while back, but as you never acknowledged its receipt, I suppose you never got it." To this he added: "I am unlucky in that respect."

Most of his "no pay" reports were made without comment or explanation, but on July 29, 1862, Holt offered Carrie the following explanation of the delays in his pay: "We have no pay yet & I dont think will under a month, the Quartermaster or paymaster is three hundred & fifty thousand dollars behind, what he has done with it I can't say, he has a month to correct or find out about it, till then we will get no money I think." This is a rather astonishing report, but it did not appear to disturb Holt, for he ended his remarks on the subject with, "But Carrie as the old woman said it will be good when it does come, wont it"?

No pay and hard times stimulated Holt's interest in business. In the same letter in which he reported the quartermaster's shortage, he sent "Pa" information about selling beef in

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<sup>34</sup>June 18, 1862.

<sup>35</sup>June 27, July 27, 1862.

Mobile; and, in the succeeding weeks, he also offered a number of plans whereby Carrie and the family could make themselves "a lot of money." His first plan, making and selling cloth, he offered on August 20:

Carrie I want you & ma & Emily & as many others as you can get, to send all the grey cloth you can make to me and I will sell it for three times as much as you can get for it at the Corner. Tell Josey for me, that for him to go and buy up all the gray Janes (jean) he can & sell it in Mobile he can make a lot of money on it, on every hundred yards he can make a hundred or two hundred dollars. Red Janes does not sell well. Let it be the smoothest that can be had it will bring the better price.

A week later, he thought he saw a fortune in soap making, and wrote Carrie:

Carrie tell Josey to put you all to making Soap as hard as he can. *For you can get from a dollar to a dollar & a half a gallon for common soft soap. It would not take but two or three days to make a hundred dollars!* People that can stay at home now and dont make a fortune, it is their own fault.<sup>36</sup>

This enterprising soldier also thought he saw the possibility of making money by dealing in hats and shoes. "Fine shoes are selling here," he wrote on September 6, "for twenty dollars a pair. "Why don't some of them buy up all the leather they can get, and have good shoes made for sale." He suggested a few weeks later that Josey buy up "as many hats like mine as he can & bring them down, he can sell them at greatly advanced prices."<sup>37</sup>

Holt gave Carrie not only specific instructions on the making, the quality, and the sale of products, but also explicit instructions on keeping the information about making money a secret. "Show or read this letter to our parents," he wrote on September 6, both of them & to Josey. So they may make

<sup>36</sup>Sept. 6, 1862.

<sup>37</sup>Sept. 25, 1862

some money for themselves easily. Say nothing to other people about it as I am anxious for our family to make all they can."<sup>38</sup>

Holt seemed greatly excited about making money. In one of his letters he instructed Carrie to "tell them I am in earnest about" making money; and assured her that he would go and see that everything was done honestly; he repeated the statement: "send it down and I will sell it for you."<sup>39</sup>

Although he sent Josey and "Pa" information about selling their products in Mobile, Holt distrusted the Mobile dealers. He distrusted them because they were speculators who cheated country people and because, according to him, they would cheat the soldiers out of "the last cent wev'e got."<sup>40</sup> After sending word to Josey to bring "a lot of different stuffs to sell," he added these warnings: "he will have to watch them closely or they will be stolen from him... he must not do the trading for they would pass counterfeit money on him."<sup>41</sup>

Exactly how much money Holt's family made from the suggested business transactions is not recorded. In fact, Holt records only one specific sale for 1862 and this sale was on credit. On November 25, he informed Carrie that he had sold her coat" to V. C. for \$30 but he has not got the money so you will have to wait for it till such times as he is paid off."

In regard to high prices, Holt seemed to have been guided by self-interest. As a seller of his folk's products, he was happy about high prices and encouraged his family to take advantages of the opportunities which war times offered for making money; but as a purchaser of supplies he deplored them.

On one occasion, Carrie wrote him to buy her a pair of

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<sup>38</sup>Holt's selfish attitude is difficult to justify, but it is easily explained. Carrie came first with him in everything and, next to Carrie, his family. He also hated speculators and knew they would become competitors for the family.

<sup>39</sup>Sept. 20, 1862.

<sup>40</sup>July 27, 1862.

<sup>41</sup>Sept. 20, 1862.

cards; he replied "I shall see about those cards as soon as I can, but I fear they will be very high!" A few months later he wrote "I purchased one pair of Cards @ \$20.00".<sup>43</sup> At this time Holt's pay as a first sergeant was \$20.00 a month.

Since Holt's family furnished him with coats, pants, underwear, and other wearing apparel, he was not deeply affected by the high price of clothing. But some of his companions were. In the letter of September 6, 1862, is found the following passage:

Carrie we have 3 young men in our company that's got no Relatives, they must have clothes, and can't afford to buy them here, as a suit of such clothes as you showed to me would cost them two hundred dollars. Send it to them somehow & they will give you a good price for your cloth. I am sorry for them, but this is all the way I know to help them.

In the same letter Holt informed his wife that "Fine shoes are selling for twenty dollars a pair." In short, in September 1862, when Confederate money was still relatively valuable, a poor private would have been compelled to spend almost two year's pay for a decent uniform and a pair of "fine shoes."

It is interesting to note that at no time does Holt blame high prices on inflation; he always blames them on the hated speculators.

In the excitement about making money Holt did not forget pay day, for in the letter of September 6, a letter devoted almost entirely to making money, is this interesting pay day item:

Carrie I had hoped to have been paid off to such an extent as to have been able to send you some money, but we were only paid for a short time. I paid what Lewis had borrowed, mess bill, what I had borrowed from the officers to come home on, and two or three other little

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<sup>42</sup>A card is a wire-tooth brush used for combing wool, cotton, flax, etc.

<sup>43</sup>Aug. 30, Nov. 25, 1862.



debts. Consequently I have sent you as good as none, but better *soon* I hope.

Perhaps, in order to convince Carrie that he was no spend-thrift, he added this information: "I have spent but 2 dollars personally since I came from Ft. Pillow." Holt had returned from Fort Pillow on May 1.

Sometime during late September or early October, Holt became ill with "Chronic Dystentery, Liver Disease & C"; and after recovery went home for more than a month. Consequently, between September 24 and November 25 there is only one letter, and it contains no financial material. In fact, there are few financial reports for the next year, and most of the items are short ones about pay and the problem of sending money home.

Holt missed his October pay day because he was either in the hospital or at home on furlough. He gave Carrie the following explanation: "I had hoped to be able to draw my money when I got back here, but cant draw any until next pay day, then I will draw back pay too."<sup>44</sup>

He still had not received any pay by December 2, and he was again angry about speculators: "T. P. W. is here," he wrote, "buying Cards at 20 dollars and selling them for 25, making money travelling & living high. While you all are at work. Dont I implore you trade cloth to such men."<sup>45</sup>

There are only three financial items in the letters for the winter of 1862-63. On January 13, he told Carrie, "got a few dollars for you when I get a chance to send it." Two days later he wrote: "I send you some money which you may use as your judgement directs." To this he added: "I wish it was more but if you knew how hard it is to keep money here you would think it amazingly wonderful that I could send you any." He had not, however, forgotten money-making altogether, for on January 20, he told his wife: "Carrie I would have sent you the money for your coat also but Vergie is not able to pay it

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<sup>44</sup>Nov. 25, 1862.

<sup>45</sup>Apparently TPW was a "speculator" from Clarke County.



yet, as often as he pays any I will send it to you."

On April 20, 1863, Holt was sent with the Thirty-Eighth Alabama Regiment to join the Army of Tennessee at Tullahoma. Although he often tried to get a furlough to come home he was "unlucky with furloughs," and never came home again.<sup>46</sup>

While around Tullahoma, Holt wrote some of his longest and finest letters, but these contained few financial items. He found prices very high here. "A young calf," he wrote after returning from a trip on which he tried to buy produce, "brings fifteen dollars, milk 2 dollars per gallon some places 4, butter 2 to 3 dollars per pound" and a letter "cost twenty-five cents."<sup>47</sup>

Evidently, he drew at least a part of his June pay on time, for on the 20th he wrote: "I send you a 20 dollar bill by Enoch Cobb." But again he was unlucky. His explanation of what happened reveals the round about manner of sending money. "I sent you 20 dollars by Cobb sure, for I gave it to Josey to give him & he says he did it."<sup>48</sup> There is, however, no other record of the money.

In the march from Tullahoma and in the first weeks around Chattanooga, Holt reported that he had "suffered . . . more than I though man or beast could endure . . .;" he makes, however, no reference to money as a cure for some of his ills. Instead of calling for money he sent home a distress call for food, clothing, and other things. These were promptly sent and joyously received.<sup>49</sup>

Holt took part in the maneuvering around Chattanooga, the Battle of Chickamauga, and in the early phases of the fighting on Missionary Ridge. During this period, even though he suffered a great deal, he does not again mention money. In a letter from Missionary Ridge, October 7, he reported that he had "Rhenmatism slightly." His next letter is from Saint Mary's Hospital, La Grange, Georgia. He obviously

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<sup>46</sup>July 18, 1863—Dec. 19, 1863, *passim*.

<sup>47</sup>May 8, 1863.

<sup>48</sup>Aug. (?), 1863.

<sup>49</sup>July 6-Sept. 16, 1863.

had not received his October pay, for in his first hospital letter he sent Carrie this explanation:

I wrote you, that I had Rheumatism. Since then they have sent me to Hospital at this place, where I could do finely if I had money, my money was left at camp. I sent to this place without a chance of going after it. As it is Hospital fare is pretty tight sure.<sup>50</sup>

The tightness of hospital fare and the poverty and desolation he had observed caused Holt to turn his attention once more to money-making. After reminding Carrie that the people at home were the luckiest people "under the canopy of Heaven," because they had not suffered the awful desolation of an invading army, he suggested what they should do about making money and why:

The people at home enjoy some fine advantages now. They may make *lots of money* and pay all their debts, this should be done by all means, by those left at home, not only for themselves, but others. If I were at home a few months I should make money enough to pay every cent I owe, for money will fall flat at the end of this war, so will prices. Janes is selling here at 15 7 18 dollars a yard, 20 yards of this will bring three hundred dollars which almost any woman can make, thereby paying a large debt of laying it away till the time comes when Gold & Silver will be given for it. I wish you would impress on my people the importance of this subject. And as for yourself, all the cloth you can make do it. Make me no blanket as you propose doing, but sell it for the money, which keep, or pay debts & C.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps, this lonely soldier also felt that, if Carrie had more money, he would get more letters. For the long passage on money is followed by the pathetic statement: "I get no letters from you." Certainly, the letters were as important to him at La Grange and Dalton as they had been at Fort Morgan; for on December 19, 1863, he wrote from the hospital: "The

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<sup>50</sup>Oct. 16, 1863.

<sup>51</sup>Nov. 20, 1863.

written missive from home is all we have to cheer us onward in our hazardous path of duty."

There is a gap in the letters between December 18 and January 29, and Holt's whereabouts during this period are uncertain. In his letter of December 19, he told Carrie that "I expect to start to my camp the day after Christmas"; but, from Dalton, on January 29, he wrote: "I arrived at this place yesterday." Presumably, he remained in the hospital during the period. It is also assumed that he drew his back pay soon after returning to camp.

At any rate, during his stay around Dalton, Georgia, Holt went into the money making business on a large scale. In his last letter to Carrie, he explained that he was sending some money to "Pa to buy some meat for me" and he advised Carrie if she had any hogs to sell to send them to him by Durden and "I can get twice as much here for them as you can there." Holt was obviously buying on credit for he instructed his wife "in every instance write to me what the things cost, that I may send back the proper pay for them."<sup>52</sup>

In the same letter Holt told Carrie "I want you also to get & send me all the Gutta Percha you can find. I am told that Bettie DeWitt, Lewis' wife has a Gutta Percha Kneedle Box or something of that sort, if so buy it of her at most any price I will send you the money." In the same letter he also mentioned the fact that he would send her "two hundred dollars now but Lewis & others has most of it borrowed at this time." And then he added "You see we are making some money too."<sup>53</sup>

The last preserved letter, a brief note to Holt's father, was devoted entirely to Money: "Father, the man who has most of my money borrowed is gone from camp today & I can't get it. I wanted to send you a hundred & fifty dollars but can't unless he comes back soon, use what I send as directed."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Feb. 17, 18, 1864.

<sup>53</sup>Evidently Carrie and the home folk were making money at home.

<sup>54</sup>No place is indicated on the note, but it dated Feb. 18, 1864. The note has on the back of it "LewisHolt. Mr. Durden."

Holt does not mention his February 1864 pay day at all. Perhaps, in the rush of business he forgot it. Certainly, a private's pay was no longer of vital concern to a man who was daily dealing in hundreds of dollars.

Since this paper is devoted almost entirely to financial matters, it leaves the impression that Hiram Talbert Holt spent most of his time griping about his poverty or devising schemes for getting rich. Such an impression is false. Actually, Holt was a devoted father and husband, an able and conscientious soldier, and a devout Christian, who bore the hardships of army life, including the financial ones, with Christian fortitude.

The material taken from the Dalton letters is especially misleading, for it suggests that Holt's chief business at this time was not fighting but money-making. It is true, no doubt, that during this period he spent more time in carrying on his business activities than in actual combat. Nevertheless, his chief business was fighting; and it was in the performance of duty that he met, February 24 1864, a soldier's death in the Skirmish of Crow's Valley near Dalton, Georgia.<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that in "money matters," as in other things, Holt was always more interested in Carrie's welfare than in his own. He was not only deeply concerned about Carrie's economic welfare while he was in the army, but also concerned about what would become of her in case of his death. In a long letter written on July 17, 1861—a letter to be delivered to her only upon his death—he gave her a great deal of advice, including what she should do about a livelihood. After pointing out to her the fact that she was too frail to "work for a living" and reminding her that her inheritance was only "a pittance," he wrote: "Let me advise you the best I know. Marry the best man you can do all you can

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<sup>55</sup>Holt's death was witnessed by Jack DeWitt, Carrie's brother, and by Joseph H. Fendley, who later married Carrie's sister, Harriett. His body was buried on the battlefield, but a few days later was disinterred, brought home, and buried in the family plot at Choctaw Corner.

to love him & make him happy."<sup>56</sup>

Carrie did not take this advice: she never married again. For seventy-five years, almost to the day, she remained true to Talbert's memory. She died January 11, 1939, at the age of 97.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>When Carrie received this letter is not certain; possibly she received it soon after Holt left Fort Morgan in February, 1862. He mentioned sending his trunk home in a letter of May 1, 1862, but said nothing of this letter. The letter is in excellent condition: every word of it is legible. Perhaps Carrie treasured it more than any of the others.

## ALABAMA STATE CURRENCY, 1861-1865

*by**Milo B. Howard, Jr., Archivist**Alabama Department of Archives and History*

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The problem of financing the secession venture confronted both the newly formed Confederate government and the individual state governments with immediacy and urgency. In a burst of patriotic generosity the General Assembly of Alabama on February 6, 1861, voted a loan of \$500,000.00 to the new Confederacy. Even though the sum amounted to approximately one quarter of the annual income of the State, the appropriation provided only working capital for the new government until permanent arrangements could be worked out. By the end of the month the Provisional Congress approved a \$15,000,000.00 loan and on March 9, provided for the issue of currency in the form treasury notes. The principal mode of financing the government was thus set up.<sup>1</sup>

Alabama had anticipated both the Confederate government and all of the other seceding states, in the matter of treasury notes. Two days after offering half a million dollars to the Confederacy, the General Assembly empowered the governor at his discretion to issue \$1,000,000.00 in treasury notes of denominations not exceeding \$100.00.<sup>2</sup> Leading authorities on the basis of this act have charged Alabama with initiating the paper money policy in the South even before the Confederacy adopted it.<sup>3</sup> The General Assembly did in fact provide the governor with the power to issue paper money, but he declined to use it

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<sup>1</sup>John Christopher Schwab, **The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865: A Financial and Industrial History of the South During the Civil War** (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), pp. 1-18.

<sup>2</sup>**Acts of the Called Session of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1861** (Montgomery: Shorter and Reid, 1861), pp. 16-17.

<sup>3</sup>Schwab, **op. cit.**, pp. 149-50; Richard Cecil Todd, **Confederate Finance** (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954), p. 116.



then, and also in December of 1861 when he was given authority to issue treasury notes or eight per cent bonds "to supply any deficiency in the treasury caused by an excess of Appropriations at the present or late extra session of the General Assembly."<sup>4</sup>

Through the fiscal year ending September 30, 1862, Governors Andrew Barry Moore and John Gill Shorter had been able to maintain the solvency of the State by issuing bonds at six and eight per cent and by borrowing from the banks in the state. But in his estimate of the financial condition of the state presented to the General Assembly in November 1862, the Comptroller, William J. Greene, warned the legislators that the ordinary expenses of the state could be met in 1863, but not in 1864 unless some additional source of income was provided. He opposed stretching the credit of the state any further and recommended raising and extending taxes based on a more careful and realistic valuation of all property.<sup>5</sup>

Having resolved the problem of meeting the ordinary expenses of the state for at least two years by revising the revenue laws, the legislature during the two sessions held in the fall of 1862 appropriated about three million dollars for other than ordinary expenses. Such a sum was greatly in excess of the anticipated tax yield under the new laws. To borrow the full amount needed was contrary to the Comptroller's advice and also would cost the state approximately \$240,000.00 annually in interest. Besides, it would relieve the embarrassment for only one year.<sup>6</sup>

The government was not alone in its fiscal difficulties. The suspension of specie payment by the banks in Alabama in 1860 and 1861 had driven from circulation all silver which was ordinarily used for change. To meet the demand for it in the daily transaction of business, private corporations and indi-

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<sup>4</sup>**Acts of the Second Called Session, 1861, and the First Annual Session of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1861** (Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862), pp. 12-13, hereafter cited as **Acts of Alabama, 1861**.

<sup>5</sup>**Annual Report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts, 1862** (Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862), pp. 10-12.

<sup>6</sup>**Montgomery Weekly Advertiser**, Nov. 12, 1862.

viduals resorted to the illegal issue of change bills and bills of credit, commonly called "shinplasters."<sup>7</sup> Some undoubtedly were induced to this expediency only in order "to do business with the least possible annoyance," but many bills were issued by irresponsible parties with neither the means nor the intention of redeeming them. By the fall of 1862, the shinplasters were forcing bank notes and Confederate treasury notes out of circulation. From all quarters of the state the legislature was urged to take measures to remedy the situation.<sup>8</sup>

Governor John Gill Shorter, in his message to the regular session of the General Assembly meeting in November, 1862, called attention to "the widespread evils growing out of the indiscriminate issue by corporations, companies and individuals, of change bills and their circulation as currency." He urged the passage of legislation providing "some kind of paper currency to meet the demands of commerce," to be issued by the State treasurer, banking companies, or such organizations as the law makers designated. He further asked a heavy tax against proscribed change bills, and stronger penalties for violating the laws against shinplasters.<sup>9</sup>

Several remedies were popularly advocated. The *Troy Southern Advertiser* recommended that the banks be allowed to issue change bills upon returning their own jealously hoarded bank notes to the Comptroller.<sup>10</sup> C. C. Langdon introduced a bill in the Alabama House of Representatives to allow the Savings Bank of Mobile to issue \$50,000.00 worth of change bills after depositing a like amount of state or Confederate bonds with the Comptroller. If the experiment proved satisfactory, other banks were to be permitted the same privilege. Suspecting that the Savings Bank saw a way to profit from the scheme, Levi Lawler of Talladega immediately rose on the floor of the House to oppose the bill, favoring instead legislation to permit the state to issue treasury note change bills and reap

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<sup>7</sup>*Greensboro Watchman*, Nov. 14, 1862.

<sup>8</sup>*Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, Nov. 12, 1862.

<sup>9</sup>*Journal of the Called Session, 1862, and the Second Regular Annual Session of the Senate of Alabama* (Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1863), p. 83.

<sup>10</sup>*Troy Southern Advertiser*, Oct. 29, 1862.

any benefits.<sup>11</sup> There was no profit to be made, but opinion was unanimous in demanding a uniform currency acceptable throughout the state. On November 8, 1862 the bill supported by Mr. Lawler became law. The governor was authorized to have "lithographed or engraved two million dollars of treasury notes . . . of the denomination of one dollar and fractional parts of a dollar." On December 4, the regular session of the assembly raised the limit to \$3,500,000.00. The new change bills were redeemable at par in Confederate currency when presented in sums of twenty dollars at the office of the State Treasurer.<sup>12</sup> Thus the General Assembly hoped to stabilize the value of the new money in order to keep it circulating freely.

Governor Shorter took full advantage of the authority conferred by the legislature. Here lay an untapped resource from which he could make up the deficiency in the treasury that would have existed at the end of the 1862-63 fiscal year and with which he could end the shortage of change. Within three days after the passage of the initial Change Bill Act, H. Haines, agent for Alabama, telegraphed Shorter from Columbia, South Carolina that he would probably award the contract for printing \$2,500,000.00 in one dollar, fifty, twenty-five, ten, and five cent bills to James T. Paterson and Co. of that city. He then hurried to Richmond to obtain as much of the needed quantity of paper as he could get from the government.<sup>13</sup> Secretary of the Treasury Christopher G. Meminger promised only a few hundred sheets which were hardly sufficient. The governor then turned to the Bath Paper Mills of Augusta, Georgia which agreed to supply to Paterson 300,000 sheets of first quality bank note paper at \$1.50 per thousand.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Mobile Advertiser and Register, Nov. 8, 1862.

<sup>12</sup>Acts of the Called Session, 1862, and the Second Regular Annual Session of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1862 (Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1862), pp. 33-34 35, hereafter cited as Acts of Alabama, 1862.

<sup>13</sup>H. Haines to Shorter, telegram (Nov.) 11, (1862) copy in Executive Papers, John Gill Shorter, Alabama Department of Archives and History, hereafter cited Shorter Papers.

<sup>14</sup>Shorter to Proprietors, Bath Paper Mills, Jan. 12, 1863, Governors' Letter Books, Alabama Department of Archives and History, hereafter cited as Letter Book. E. J. Davison to Shorter, Jan. 16, 1863, Shorter Papers. The Bath Paper Mills, located at Bath, S. C., was, until its destruction by fire in April, 1863, one of the Confederacy's principal suppliers of paper.

Finding a satisfactory supply of paper was but one of the annoyances plaguing the governor. On January 10, 1863 Paterson informed Shorter that six men were required to work exclusively on the Alabama notes. Five of those engaged in the work were subject to conscription and another was already a member of Company B, 10th Georgia Regiment. Shorter had to dispatch a request to the secretary of war to exempt them or at least to detail them to Paterson's engraving establishment. To stave off the conscript officers he sent Paterson a certificate stating that the company was engaged by the State of Alabama to engrave and print treasury notes.<sup>15</sup>

The first shipment of bills arrived during the latter days of January, 1863, by way of Adams' Southern Express Co., which the Governor had employed to deliver shipments at weekly intervals beginning January 20. Deliveries were irregular, however, due on one occasion to a failure of the paper supply, and on another to the lack of a sufficiently large strong box which Governor Shorter urged the express company to provide. Each delay elicited from the governor a complaint because the "Treasury officers were disconcerted" and the large number of ladies, engaged to number, cut and sign the notes, were "subjected to inconvenience and loss."<sup>16</sup>

On March 17, 1863, Governor Shorter discovered that neither the twenty five nor fifty cent bills had been given a series number. He suggested to Paterson that the unmarked bills be allowed to stand as "1st Series" and all subsequent plates be numbered from "No. 2 up."<sup>17</sup> Upon consultation with the Treasurer and Comptroller the governor ordered an additional issue of \$1,000,000.00, \$500,000.00 to be in one dollar bills, \$300,000.00 in fifty cent bills, and \$200,000.00 in twenty-five cent bills.<sup>18</sup> On the same day, March 26, that the second issue was ordered, Shorter wrote to William K. Huse, agent of the Bath Paper Mills, offering him the paper strips that had

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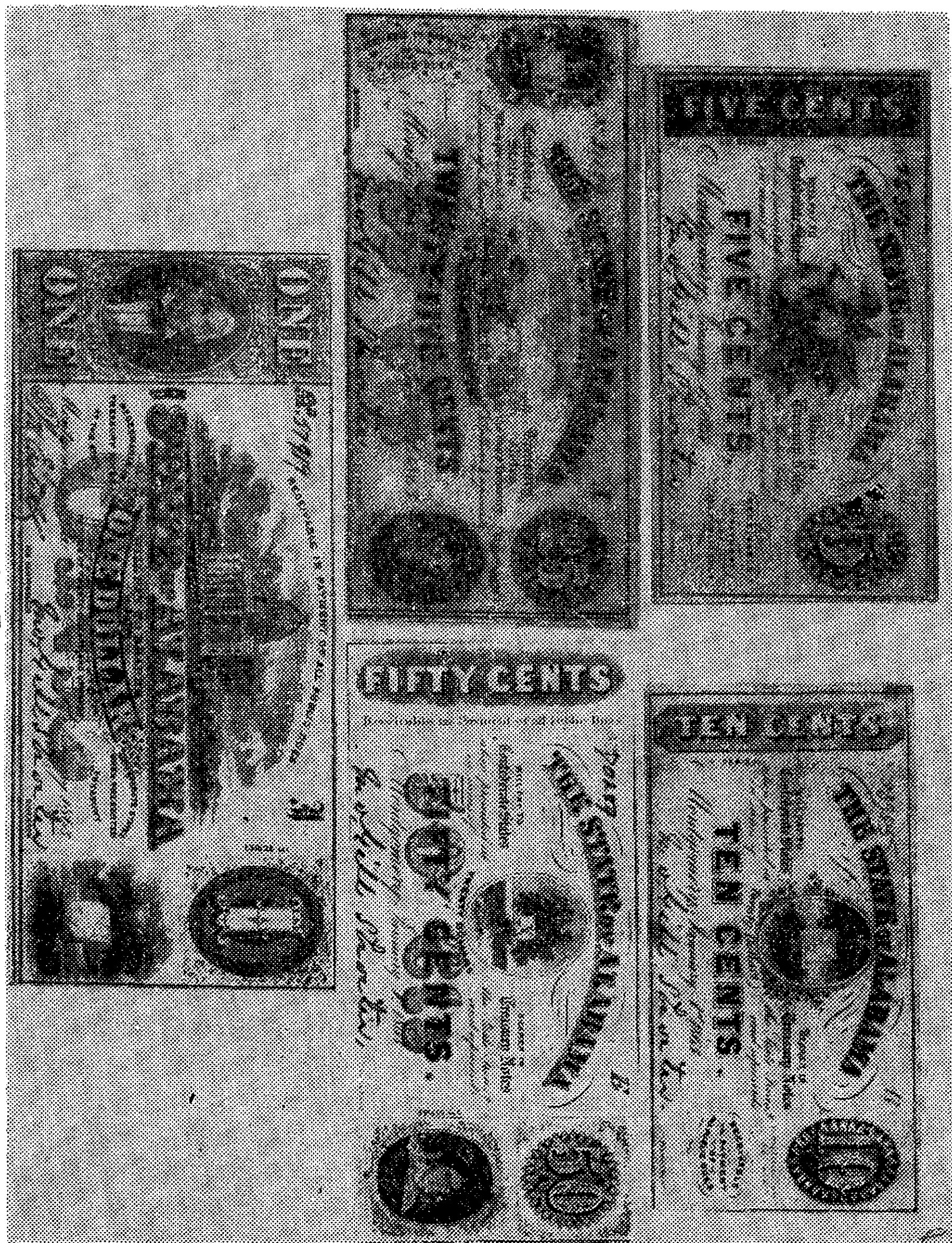
<sup>15</sup>Paterson to Shorter, Jan. 10, 1863, Shorter Papers.

<sup>16</sup>Shorter to Paterson and Co., Jan. 15, Feb. 11, March 10, 1863, Shorter to H. B. Plant, Jan. 15, 1863, Letter Book; Paterson to Shorter, Jan. 19, Feb. 6, March 20, copies of telegrams, Shorter Papers.

<sup>17</sup>Shorter to Paterson and Co., March 17, 1863, Letter Book.

<sup>18</sup>Shorter to Paterson and Co., March 26, 1863, Letter Book.





1863 Issue

been clipped from the new treasury notes. Unidentified parties in Montgomery were eager for the trimmings, but the governor was inclined to allow the Augusta firm to purchase them.<sup>19</sup>

The General Assembly carefully specified the manner for issuing the bills. As fast as they were delivered to the governor, the comptroller gave a receipt for them. Under his direction assistants, who were to be paid "not to exceed five dollars per day," numbered, cut, and registered them. The legislative act directed that the governor's signature be included on the lithograph, but each bill was to be countersigned by the comptroller or by someone appointed by the governor to countersign them for him.<sup>20</sup> To assist him, the comptroller employed from time to time some fifty-three ladies and school girls in Montgomery.<sup>21</sup> By two separate acts a total of \$150,000.00 was appropriated for the preparation of change bills for circulation.<sup>22</sup> When this amount proved insufficient an additional sum of \$21,703.25 was provided by the General Assembly upon the request made by Governor Shorter as he was retiring from office.<sup>23</sup>

According to the "Register of Alabama State Treasury Notes" the total issue of change bills amounted to \$3,500,000.00 of which there were \$2,000,000.00 in one dollar bills, \$800,000.00 in fifty cent bills, \$550,000.00 in twenty-five cent bills, \$120,000.00 in ten cent bills, and \$30,000.00 in five cent bills.<sup>24</sup> By legislative act the comptroller was allowed to destroy mutilated

<sup>19</sup>Shorter to Wm. K. Huse, March 26, 1863, Letter Book.

<sup>20</sup>**Acts of Alabama**, 1862, pp. 33-35.

<sup>21</sup>**Annual Report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts 1863** (Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Book and Job Office, 1863) pp. 34-35, hereafter cited as **Comptroller's Report, 1863**; **Annual Report of the Comptroller of Public Accounts, 1864** (Montgomery: Saffold and Figures, 1864), p. 23, hereafter cited as **Comptroller's Report, 1864**. George Dunn was paid \$20.00 for designing the one dollar change bill, but the designers of the other four denominations are undetermined. Many of the ladies employed by the Comptroller have descendants living in Montgomery today.

<sup>22</sup>**Acts of Alabama**, 1862, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>23</sup>**Acts of the Called Session, 1863, and the Third Annual Regular Session of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1863** (Montgomery: Saffold and Figures, 1864), p. 79, hereafter cited as **Acts of Alabama, 1863**.

<sup>24</sup>"Register of Alabama State Treasury Notes," State Auditor's Records, see Appendix A, *infra*.



change bills, and from November 23, 1863, until April 3, 1865 a total of \$377,493.05 was burned by the treasurer, Duncan Blue Graham, in the presence of the governor, the comptroller, and the secretary of state.<sup>25</sup>

In order to insure the efficacy of the State Treasury Note Change Bills the General Assembly made the issuance or circulation of shinplasters an offense punishable by a fine of from twenty to five hundred dollars and imprisonment of three to twelve months.<sup>26</sup> Under the Revenue Act of 1862 a tax of two and one-half per cent was to be levied and collected for the tax year ending February; subsequently a tax of fifteen per cent was to be collected on the amount of outstanding and unredeemed shinplasters at the beginning of each tax year.<sup>27</sup> The law enabling the possessor of a shinplaster to recover the full amount plus fifty per cent interest per annum from the date of issue remained on the statute books.<sup>28</sup>

The effect of the change bill act and the anti-shinplaster laws were soon felt. Change became scarce as merchants in some instances refused to accept shinplasters before April 1, 1863.<sup>29</sup> But after some three million dollars worth of change bills had been emitted and circulated throughout the state largely through payments to indigent families of soldiers, there seemed to be no shortage. In fact everyone seemed eager to make his own change, nor was it unusual for purchases of fifty dollars to be paid for in one dollar bills. Until the passage of the Funding Act by the Confederate Congress on February 17, 1864, which imposed a thirty-three per cent tax on all Confederate treasury notes above the denomination of five dollars, the treasurer and his clerk were reportedly kept busy counting in change bills presented for redemption in Confederate notes.

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<sup>25</sup> "Register of Bank Notes Destroyed," State Treasurer's Records, Alabama State Department of Archives and History. The break down of destroyed notes by denomination is:

\$1.00.....	\$110,711.00	\$ .10.....	\$11,837.70
.50.....	71,840.50	.05.....	2,102.35
.25.....	180,956.50		

<sup>26</sup> *Acts of Alabama*, 1862, pp. 50-52.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> *Code of Alabama*, 1852 (Montgomery, Brittan and DeWolf, 1852), p. 227.

<sup>29</sup> *Clarke County Journal*, March 19, 1863.

After publication of the Funding Act, however, the change bills greatly appreciated in value and desirability. The *Advertiser* opined that:

As the 1st of April approaches, it will be difficult probably to get into the Capitol building, if not into the Capitol Square for the crowds who think the state bills are better investment than the issues of Mr. Memminger.

On February 25 the crowd at the Treasurer's Office was so great that only two persons at the time were admitted to the counting room. Even so, one man reportedly obtained \$2700.00 by sending in his family and friends. Counting out one dollar bills and smaller change brought the ordinary work of the office to a complete halt. When the crowd converged on the Treasurer's Office on February 26, they found the door closed against them and a sign posted saying, "NO CHANGE BILLS GIVEN OUT TODAY." Against the criticism of those who had a legitimate need for change and of those who hoped to avoid any loss due to the Funding Act, the *Advertiser* defended the Treasurer pointing out that the law *authorizd* but did *not require* the treasurer to make exchanges. The newspaper guessed that exchange would be resumed only in "small quantities and in cases where it is clearly shown that [bills] are really wanted for change." In the meantime, since the community was apparently well supplied, it suggested that those who were hoarding the change bills could "bring them out and the difficulty complained of will be removed."<sup>30</sup>

Co-incident with the passage of the 1864 Funding Act, which was directed at reducing the volume of Confederate currency in circulation, Governor Thomas Hill Watts was making preparations for the issue of state treasury notes. While there was hope that the circulation of more currency would eliminate the shortage of money anticipated as the result of the Funding Act, such an effect would have been purely fortuitous. The notes were designed primarily to maintain the solvency of the state government, the operations of which were expanding at a greater rate than its income could support. Further increasing

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<sup>30</sup>Montgomery Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 28, March 9, 1864.

taxes, always undertaken reluctantly, seemed unadvisable since many North Alabama counties were already in arrears due to the depredations of Union raiding parties and invading armies.<sup>31</sup> Bond issues and bank loans were costly, but the issue of change bills had seemed relatively easy to all but a few state officers, so the legislature yielded to the lure of a paper money policy.

The principal drain on the state revenues appeared to come from payments out of the appropriation for the aid of indigent families of soldiers. Conscription had increased the number of such families and marauders had further deprived them of their means of livelihood. Much of the money created by the issuance of change bills had already gone to pay nearly all of two million dollars set aside for soldiers' families by the Legislature on Nov. 12, 1862. The last installment was to be paid August 1, 1863. Since the regular session of the 1863 General Assembly convened in November, the extra session called in August provided another \$1,000,000.00 to be paid during October, November and December. In his final message to the General Assembly on November 9, Governor Shorter reminded the legislators that they had made the appropriation but had not provided the funds. While he had directed the treasurer to make the first payment from the unused balances in the treasury, it was necessary for them to make some provision for the remainder of the quarter as well as the other nine months of the fiscal year. The mode of raising the means to meet it, whether by increasing taxes, selling bonds, or issuing treasury notes, he left to the "wise discretion of the General Assembly."<sup>32</sup>

On December 8, 1863 the Legislature made a \$3,000,000.00 appropriation for the aid of indigent families of soldiers to be paid during the fiscal year ending September, 1864.<sup>33</sup> The "wise discretion" of the General Assembly avoided selecting a means of raising the funds to match their charitable impulses. Left to his own devices the newly inaugurated Watts availed him-

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<sup>31</sup>Comptroller's Report, 1863; 1864.

<sup>32</sup>Journal of the Called Session, 1863, and the Third Annual Regular Session of the Senate of Alabama (Montgomery: Saffold and Figures, 1864), p. 78.

<sup>33</sup>Acts of Alabama, 1863, pp. 81-82.

self of the provisions contained in Sections 6, 7 and 8 of a bill "to authorize the issue and sale of State Bonds" passed December 9, 1862. The act provided that "for any portion of the deficiency in the Treasury which may exist at any time" the governor could issue treasury notes in lieu of bonds. Such notes were to be fundable in Confederate treasury notes or twenty-year State coupon-bearing bonds.<sup>34</sup> As soon as the General Assembly adjourned, Governor Watts asked J. T. Paterson and Co. to submit proposals for printing \$1,000,000.00 of fifty dollar notes and \$2,000,000.00 of one hundred dollar notes.<sup>35</sup> By January all the details of the transaction had been worked out, and Watts urged that the work be completed as soon as possible.<sup>36</sup> At some time before the first of May, he abandoned the idea of a three-million dollar issue and ordered \$500,610.00 in five dollar bills and \$506,270.00 in ten dollar bills, as well as additional \$22,400.00 in hundred dollar and \$13,400.00 in fifty dollar notes.<sup>37</sup>

When the *Montgomery Advertiser* announced that the State had a contract with J. T. Paterson and Co. for the issue of treasury notes, it appealed to the people not to hoard them, but to allow them to circulate freely. The *Advertiser* expressed the belief that state notes and bonds were no more secure than those of the Confederacy, contending that the Southern people would never yield until the states were "completely exhausted." Who then, it asked, "would be left to insure the payment of the bonds and treasury notes issued by the individual states?"<sup>38</sup>

The treasury notes, bearing the date January 1, 1864, were not deposited in the Treasury for circulation until May 6. Not only were the engravers behind on their contract, but each note had to be signed by both the comptroller and the treasurer, each of whom had other duties to perform as well.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the summer the notes were slowly distributed. Complaints came at least from one county that it had not received its share

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<sup>34</sup>Acts of Alabama, 1862, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup>Watts to Paterson and Co., Dec. 14, 1863, Letter Book.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., Jan. 5, 1864.

<sup>37</sup>See Appendix 3, *infra*.

<sup>38</sup>Montgomery Weekly Advertiser, Feb. 10, 1864.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., April 6, 1864.







of funds set aside for indigent families of soldiers. State officials answered through the columns of the *Montgomery Advertiser* explaining that all payments made by the state had to be in Alabama treasury notes since the state treasury was filled with old issue Confederate notes received at par under legislative act. The first notes signed were sent to the Tennessee Vally which had been over-run by the Union Army; those counties suffering from the depredations of Rousseau's Raid received the next payments.<sup>40</sup> By October 28, 1864 the last of the issue of \$4,042,680.00 was registered by the Comptroller and deposited in the Treasury.<sup>41</sup> The printing and preparation of the treasury notes had not been as expensive as that of the change bills. J. T. Paterson and Co. received \$21,018.31; the Southern Express Company \$159.25; and E. M. Wilson, the only assistant employed by the Comptroller and Treasurer, \$573.72.<sup>42</sup>

Basically unsound as the paper money policy of Alabama was, the \$7,542,680.00 issued in change bills and treasury notes was a paltry sum compared with the hundreds of millions emitted by the Confederate government. Of the \$20,208,485.14 disbursed by the State treasurer from October 1, 1860 to May 24, 1865, approximately \$16,000,000.00 was expended directly as a result of the war. Less than half of the amount was supplied by the paper money issued in 1863 and 1864. By and large, the state treasury notes and treasury note change bills served the purpose for which they were designed, and in the final analysis, the prediction of the *Montgomery Advertiser* was borne out: all state paper money was repudiated by the State Convention in 1865.

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<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1864.

<sup>41</sup>"Register of State Treasury Notes."

<sup>42</sup>*Comptroller's Report*, 1864, p. 22.



## APPENDIX A

## TREASURY NOTE CHANGE BILLS

The following list of change bills, copied from the Register of Alabama State Treasury Notes, gives a complete listing of all change bills deposited in the State Treasury by the Comptroller. Contrary to other listings, there was no one dollar bill lettered I. There is, however, an irregularity not noted: at least one bill bears an inverted L. Whether the bill is counterfeit or genuine cannot be proved; it certainly appears to be genuine. Apparently there was suspicion of counterfeiting as Governor Shorter sent specimens of each bill to George W. Con-

way, a detective of Atlanta, on October 7, 1863.

Also in the case of one dollar bills, some sheets appear to have been printed with ten notes and some twelve notes to the page.

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>		<i>Denomination</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
First	A	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	B	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	C	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	D	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	E	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	F	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	G	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	H	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	J	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	K	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	1 to 18,950	\$18,950.00
First	A	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	B	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	C	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	D	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	E	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	F	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	G	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	H	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	J	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	K	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	L	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00
First	M	1st	January 1863	\$1.00	One Dollar	18951 to 20550	1,600.00

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
First	A	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	B	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	C	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	D	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	E	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	F	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	G	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	H	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	J	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	K	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20551 to 20600	50.00
First	A	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	B	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	C	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	D	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	E	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	F	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	G	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	H	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	J	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	K	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	L	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
First	M	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	20601 to 20715	115.00
					<u>\$210,580.00</u>



<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Second	A	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	B	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	C	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	D	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	E	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	F	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	G	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	H	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	J	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	K	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	L	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	M	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39573	39,573.00
Second	A to K	1st January 1863	\$1.00 One Dollar	1 to 39574	10.00
One Sheet A. to K. Duplicated, No. not known					10.00
One Sheet A. to M. Duplicated, No. not known					12.00
					<hr/>
					\$2,000,000.00

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
First	A	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	B	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	C	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	D	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	E	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	F	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	G	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	H	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	I	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	J	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	K	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	L	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	M	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	N	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
First	O	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 24478	\$12,239.00
					<hr/>
					183,585.00
Second	A	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	B	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	C	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	D	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	E	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	F	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00



<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Second	G	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	H	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	I	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	J	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	K	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	L	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	M	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	N	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	O	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	1 to 82190	41,095.00
Second	A	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	B	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	C	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	D	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	E	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	F	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	G	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	H	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	I	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
Second	J	1st January 1863	50c Fifty Cents	82191	.50
					<u>\$800,015.00</u>
Two of the foregoing Numbers, on Letters A to O. omitted					15.00
					<u>\$800,000.00</u>

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>			<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
First	A	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	B	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	C	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	D	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	E	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	F	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	G	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	H	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	I	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	J	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	K	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	L	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	M	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	N	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
First	O	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 26370	\$1,592.50
Second	A	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	B	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	C	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	D	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	E	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	F	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	G	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>			<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Second	H	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	I	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	J	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	K	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	L	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	M	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	N	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Second	O	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 84370	21,092.50
Thir	A	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	B	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	C	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	D	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	E	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	F	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	G	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	H	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	I	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	J	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	K	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	L	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	M	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	N	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50
Thir	O	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty	Five Cents	1 to 35926	8,981.50

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Third	A	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	B	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	C	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	D	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	E	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	F	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	G	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	H	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	I	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
Third	J	1st January 1863	25c	Twenty Five Cents	35927	.25
						<hr/>
						\$550,000.00



<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
First	A	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	B	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	C	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	D	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	E	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	F	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	G	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	H	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	I	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	J	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	K	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	L	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	M	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	N	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	O	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	P	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	Q	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	R	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	S	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	T	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	U	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	1 to 28571	1,428.55
First	A to R	1st January 1863	5c Five Cents	28572	.45
					<u>\$30,000.00</u>



## Recapitulation

Amount Issued of \$1.00 Notes	\$2,000,000.00
Amount Issued of 50c Notes	800,000.00
Amount Issued of 25c Notes	550,000.00
Amount Issued of 10c Notes	120,000.00
Amount Issued of 5c Notes	30,000.00
	<hr/>
Total Amount Issued	\$3,500,000.00

APPENDIX B

State Treasury Notes

A	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
B	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
C	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
E	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
F	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
G	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
H	1st January	1864	\$100	1 to 2528	252,800.00
					<hr/>
					\$2,022,400.00
A	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
B	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
C	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
D	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
E	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
F	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
G	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
H	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
J	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
K	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
L	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
M	1st January	1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00

<i>Series</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
	N	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
	O	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
	P	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
	Q	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
	R	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
	S	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
	T	1st January 1864	\$50	1 to 1126	56,300.00
					<u>\$1,013,400.00</u>
	A	1st January 1864	\$10	1 to 8436	84,360.00
	B	1st January 1864	\$10	1 to 8437	84,370.00
	C	1st January 1864	\$10	1 to 8437	84,370.00
	D	1st January 1864	\$10	1 to 8439	84,390.00
	E	1st January 1864	\$10	1 to 8439	84,390.00
	F	1st January 1864	\$10	1 to 8439	84,390.00
					<u>\$506,270.00</u>

Series	Letters	Date	Denomination	Number	Amount
	A	1st January 1864	\$5	1 to 16681	83,405.00
	B	1st January 1864	\$5	1 to 16681	83,405.00
	C	1st January 1864	\$5	1 to 16681	83,405.00
	D	1st January 1864	\$5	1 to 16693	83,465.00
	E	1st January 1864	\$5	1 to 16693	83,465.00
	F	1st January 1864	\$5	1 to 16693	83,465.00
					<hr/>
					\$500,610.00

Recapitulation

Amount in	\$100.00	\$2,022,400.00
Amount in	50.00	1,013,400.00
Amount in	10.00	506,270.00
Amount in	5.00	500,610.00
		<hr/>
Total Amount issued in State Treasury Notes		\$4,042,680.00

October 27th 1864

A GEORGIA CONFEDERATE SOLDIER  
VISITS MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA,  
1862-1863

*Edited With an Introduction*

*By*

*Allen W. Jones*

*Assistant Professor of History,*

*Furman University, Greenville, S. C.*

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The Civil War provided the numerous daily and weekly newspapers in the Confederate States with a new and exciting type of news story. Most all the major daily newspapers in the South published communications from "home town soldiers" who were away at "the front fighting the Yankees." Most newspaper editors in the South were eager to publish such letters and war stories, especially those which concerned local military units. Many newspapers paid these army correspondents for the war news they sent from the battle fields and army camps. These "soldier journalist" had varying, and often times, crude styles of writing, but their words meant a great deal to the "folks back home" who had relatives serving in the army or living in the combat areas.

*The Daily Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer* and *The Weekly Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer* had several soldier correspondents who contributed irregularly to their columns. One such author was Joe T. Scott. He enlisted at Columbus, Georgia on May 23, 1861, as Fourth Sergeant in Company I, 20th Georgia Infantry Regiment. He left Columbus with his unit on May 28, 1861 and arrived in Richmond, Virginia on May 31, 1861.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lt. Scott was a resident of Columbus, Georgia. He was thirty-two years of age when he enlisted in the army. He was married and the father of several children. His writing indicates that he had received a good education. "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from Georgia," Microcopy No. 226, National Archives, Washington, D. C.



It was here that Scott began his career as an army correspondent for the *Columbus Enquirer*. His first letter was dated June 4, 1861, and they continued to appear in the *Enquirer* until November, 1864.

Scott's ability and alertness earned him the rank of lieutenant in July, 1861. His career in the confederate Army, 1861-1864, was filled with the usual exciting adventures, as well as with all the horrors of the War.<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Scott's service with the 20th Georgia Infantry Regiment carried him through the battles of Manassas, Thoroughfare Gap, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Seven Pines, Chickahominy and many others. He was wounded in the battle of Manassas and the battle of Gettysburg but each time was returned to duty with his unit after several months convalescence.<sup>3</sup>

Lieutenant Scott was the author of more than fifty letters to the *Columbus Enquirer* during his four years service in the army. Only the letters from or about Montgomery, Alabama have been selected for presentation at this time. These six letters will provide some indication as to the social and economic conditions which prevailed in the capital city of Alabama in 1862 and 1863.

Montgomery, Alabama  
September 18, 1862

Dear *Enquirer*:\*

I arrived here Sabbath last from your city (Columbus, Georgia), and was most cordially received by my old friends of yore. Montgomery, like Columbus, has none of her gallant

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<sup>2</sup>He was taken prisoner during the Battle of Gettysburg, but managed to escape before being confined. **The Daily Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer**, *passim* 1861-1864. "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from Georgia," Microcopy No. 226, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

<sup>3</sup>**The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies**, Series I, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 584, 592. **The Weekly Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer**, Sept. 16, 1862 and *passim* 1861-1864. Charles E. Jones, **Georgia in the War, 1861-1865**, (Atlanta, 1905, p. 154.

\***The Daily Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer**, September 22, 1862; **The Weekly Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer**, September 23, 1862.

sons lolling around luxurious homes, but all who are worthy of the name of men are away in the war. Such a quietude exists here as to make one all the time feel it was the Sabbath. No more are gaudy equipages, drawn by prancing steeds, observed dashing along the elegant streets of this beautiful city, "the rose of Alabama." The finely dressed young ladies and matrons of other days, have laid aside their elegant wardrobes and jewelry, and with a heroism equal to female Spartans, are doing all that in their power lies to alleviate the wants of their dear, brave ones in the war. Such a spirit of devotion must and will prompt her valorous sons to greater deeds when in mortal combat they meet the foe. The same spirit, I learn, is manifested by all the women of Alabama.

I am informed that a great demand exists here for residences, the applicants being mostly refugees from above and below, and the prices being a matter of minor consideration. For the size of the city, few places are better built, or contain more elegant mansions, or are peopled by a more wealthy, generous and hospitable class of denizens. Of her commerce, it is too well known that it has been crippled by the blockade of Mobile and Pensacola; but by a wise foresight of some of her business men, a good supply of sugar and molasses is concentrated here, and can be obtained at prices, the former at 200 and the latter at 300 per cent, less than in that city of cormorants and extortionists—Richmond, Va. But I must tell you that there are a few of the vultures here, who have the beaks and talons of the carrion crow, with hearts at win in size to mustard seed. But it is needless to specify them, for all the publicity I could give them would not preserve their names from oblivion after our liberties are attained. Like most of rogues, give them rope enough and they will hang themselves after a season of twisting extortion.

I have made several calls on my friends of the *Montgomery Mail* since my arrival here, and was warmly greeted. Henry F. Coyne, the old Regular of the black art, appeared the

"Same in feature, lineament and grace,  
And plodding in his usual pace,"

for the benefit of the readers of his excellent journal. As a man of method, he has no superior; as a writer, he is clear,

concise and earnest; as a friend, amiable and kind; but as a political foe, a very Yahoo "for your destruction bent."

And can I forget Cushing? Never! for a man who fills such a space in the world must occupy an equivalent share in our memory. He is one of the adjuncts—a permanent fixture of the *Mail*. Without him there would be no telling the number of its failures—but with him in his proper department the *Mail* makes its regular arrivals. May his bountiful shadow never grow less, if bacon does cost 60 cents per pound and flour \$40 per barrel!

There is a chip off a North Carolina block, I had the pleasure of making my acquaintance: Mr. T. F. Martin, of the *Mail*. Between him and Cushing there exists a great matter of law. M. has been robbed—the thief has been caught, and Cushing is a Magistrate. Now if Cushing don't send this chap up to a higher court for the robbery of a printer, and have him tried for a capital offence, military law must be appealed to. Robbing a printer! Hang him, Cushing; here date your legal pedigree.

To-day was generally observed here according to our President's request. The stores were closed and service held in the churches. Good dinners were eaten by those who were able to have them, and I felt as pious as an old soldier of the army of the Potomac could feel. I thought of the glorious times our boys must be having in Maryland and Pennsylvania, of the good things Stonewall has furnished from the enemy's commissariat at Harper's Ferry for our men, and gazed at my old sword on the wall, and longed I was with them there to-day to have my thanksgiving dinner.

I also made the acquaintance of Mr. Oliver McElheny, from Wilmington, N. C., and superintendent of the Gas Works here. He is a stirring man, and, like his brother, who holds a similar post in Columbus, worthy of the position.

B. H. Kieser, wounded at the battle of Seven Pines, and taken prisoner and paroled, goes from Tuskegee to Richmond by the 23d for exchange. His press, the *Confederate States*,

will rest in silent repose until he returns from the war and the South is free.

The General Hospital at Montgomery is very capacious and a well kept and well cared for institution. Dr. Hannon is a very estimable physician. Mr. Jas. Mims is connected with this hospital, and it is therefore certain the Druggist's post is well supplied.

I learn to-day that by the recent rains, the trains on the Montgomery & Mobile Railroad are not running through, on account of a bridge being washed away below Pollard.

J. T. S.

Montgomery, Alabama  
September 26, 1862

Dear *Enquirer*:\*

There is such a calm and stillness here that one would hardly take this place to be the once gay and fashionable city of Alabama. The many closed doors, which in days by gone were opened, displaying splendid stocks of all kinds of merchandise, and the few now open and illy supplied ones, brings forcibly to mind Goldsmith's pen picture of "The Deserted Village."

The cobwebbed offices of the lawyers, and the seldom in-going and outcoming of clients, bespeak that the people have buried their animosities and joined hands in a common cause, and the remaining gentlemen of the legal profession appear as poor Othello—their 'occupation gone.'

The once dazzling resorts of the sons of Bacchus are closed, and those who once were their keepers are at times seen meekly moving around as so many "Japhets in search of fathers." No more are heard the rumbling of the alley balls, or the cannonading licks of the billiard tables. The former visitors of these

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\*The Daily Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer, Sept. 30, 1862; The Weekly Columbus (Georgia) Enquirer, October 7, 1862.

resorts are gone to the war, having turned their cues into muskets, and others exercising themselves with handling iron instead of *lignum vitae* spheres or globes, to feed our "dogs of war."

As a matter of course these remarks have no reference to the tribe of Benjamin. They have a good supply of goods, which you can, if you have the money, purchase at their own *modest* prices. How so many are permitted to transact nearly all the profitable merchandizing of every city in the South, and so few of them are found in the army, is a common question with those who have to fight, whilst they wax wealthy away from harm. There are honorable exceptions, to my knowledge, to the above strictures, and I respect them; but the non-combatant cormorants should be made to fight or leave.

The shinplaster mania in Alabama is unparalleled. Brokers are growing rich on these liliputian bills of exchange, and some of them will not pass outside of "horn-blow" of the place of issue. Thus, my dear Enquirer, if you are not very shrewd in traveling over two short railroads, and have an X broke, you will learn that all the change you get would not buy a loaf of gingerbread here. Seemingly some of these chaps issue bills payable when five dollars or its multiple is presented, but, if the fact was known, some never put more than four dollars and ninety-five cents in circulation in one town or village.

Ever and anon some sensationists alarm the women here by suggesting the probability of a visit of the gunboats of the enemy to Montgomery, whenever a swollen stage of the river occurs. Whilst I have no belief they will ever row their boats here, I would suggest that the ladies impress these alarmists and put them to work at narrow points below, in the obstruction of the Alabama. They will be better employed than in frightening women and children, while the valor of the city is away in the war.

All of the public work is going on with a vim here, and Major Calhoun is a man who keeps an eye to the public interest. I learn that he is much respected by all with whom he has dealings, and infer from it that the right man is in the right place. It gave me pleasure to form his acquaintance.



The *diphtheria*, a very fatal disease, is prevailing in this city among the young and old, and I learn that but few are cured or saved from it.

A large number of rebels passed through here in the right direction.

The mortality in the hospital here is small in comparison with the number of patients.

J. T. S.

Confederate States General Hospital,  
Montgomery, Alabama  
October 3, 1862

Dear *Enquirer*:\*

Next to our armies in the field, are in importance the hospitals of our sick and wounded soldiers. And as they are a matter of interest to every philanthropist, it may be of sufficient worth of publication to give your many readers a brief sketch of the above named home of our sick soldiers.

The buildings comprise four splendidly built brick tenements, well ventilated, furnished, and fully sufficient to accommodate, without crowding, one thousand patients. It has had for treatment at one time nine hundred and eighty-three patients, and am assured that the percentage of deaths in cases where cure was even possible, is very small.

Each separate bedstead and bedding has cost at least \$13.00, and therefore you may reasonably infer that no labor or expense has been withheld to administer to the wants or comfort of the patients.

The floors, windows, dining room, kitchen and bedding, are patterns of neatness and cleanliness, and you could not imagine a more pleasant place for the sick or convalescent soldier.

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\*The *Daily Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer*, October 7, 1862; The *Weekly Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer*, October 14, 1862.

There is the most perfect order in the building, and there seems to be a place for everything and everything appears in its place, and in all the three hundred sick, not one could be found who did not look as if he was really at home. This I saw with my own eyes.

And you may ask no reason of me for praising such an institution. It has a staff of Surgeons which the patients may be thankful to have in their hours of affliction.

### LIST OF MEDICAL STAFF

Post Surgeon, Henry K. Green, of Bibb county Georgia.

Assistant Surgeons—G. W. McDade and ——Hart, of New Orleans, La; J. G. Scott, of Pensacola, Fla.

All these gentlemen stand in the foremost rank of their profession, and are ministering to the wants of their patients with a patriotic and commendable zeal which will gain for them a high and lasting reputation. Their attentions to an almost perfect stranger as myself, are hereby most respectfully acknowledged and appreciated.

In this place I must not omit to mention that the Ladies' Hospital (which was the pioneer) has been merged into the General Hospital, and its former beneficent and untiring President, Mrs. Judge Bibb, of this city, is still superintending in person the wants of the sick. She cordially co-operates with the Surgeons, and the complimentary manner in which her name is everywhere mentioned by all, bespeaks her the soldier's angel friend. Heaven grant her many years of health and happiness, as such a noble woman deserves. And like her, too, there are many kind-hearted ladies who unite with her in their errands of mercy and sympathy. Prominent among them is Mrs. W. B. Bell.

A feature—a noble one too—is apparent at this hospital. Six angelic Sisters of Mercy attend solely at this Hospital, and you can perceive a spirit of devotion and kindness in their mild, complacent countenances. They are from Mobile, and their names are Sister Mary Adelaide, *senior*, Sister Johanna, Sister

Prudentia, Sister Mary Elizabeth, Sister Agnes and Sister Anastasia.

These good women have devoted their lives to doing good, and may Heaven reward them for the sacrifices they have made for the benefit of suffering humanity.

During the passage of Bragg's army through this city, about 700 sick were left here, and out of that whole number only twenty-two died, and it may be justly claimed a small percentage when most of the deceased were so far gone on their reception for treatment.

Such a location for a hospital is desirable to our sick in the movement of our vast armies from one point to another through here, and we learn with some regret that the contributions to the sick and wounded at the hospital have almost ceased, or grown to be an old thing, with some who are really able to aid the needy. Never let it be said of such a wealthy city as Montgomery that her purse strings are drawn in an hour when our wounded and sick are in need.

The patients, too, want reading to make their hours of confinement less lonely. Will not the patriotic editors of the South, Alabama especially, mail a gratis copy of their papers to the Hospital? The soldiers will bless you for the gift, and you can afford to do it. Gentlemen, will you do it?

But I have written more than I expected. Wishing to greet you soon, I am thine,

J. T. S.

Montgomery, Alabama  
October 16, 1862

Dear *Enquirer* :\*

After several days of pleasant sojourn at the Planters' Hotel in your city, we arrived home. At the time we left, Mr.

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\*The *Daily Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer*, October 20, 1862; The *Weekly Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer*, October 21, 1862.

R. T. Simons and his pleasant, industrious wife were ever on the alert and doing a magnificent business in feeding and lodging, in the best style, a jamming house—full of respectable and happy guests. The “Old Planters” in its palmiest days never had a better run of the best custom. His table was good enough for any *bon vivant*, and his beds, the nests for sound repose; and then he does not ask all that a man earns for entertainment under his roof. “Bob” has struck his talent, and I trust an appreciating public will sustain him in his efforts to afford the best of living at living prices—which is a rare thing in Columbus. Try him, ye hungry!

Whilst in your city I learned that the salt which your county Judges had procured at the salings in Virginia had arrived, and that each of the families of the Muscogee soldiers would receive a half-bushel at the low price of one dollar. Every man who had a part in this good work is a christian at heart, and entitled to the gratitude and thanks of the people of Muscogee.

At an appointed hour, in your city, on Monday last, the heretofore long sealed doors of the Eagle Manufacturing Company were thrown open, and the families of the soldiers permitted to supply themselves with cloths at prices almost nothing in comparison to those charged by the sharks of Columbus. The opportunity was a glad one to the poor, and they very numerously availed themselves of it. Every one bought just what their wants required, but the speculators were ruled out. I went down with the rest, and laid in my humble supply for my wife and little ones and servants. I found there that best of men, J. Rhodes Browns, the Prince of Southern Manufacturers, up to his eyes in personal attention of the work and dealing out with uniform politeness the great desideratums of the hour. Much credit is due him for the perfection to which he has brought the cotton and wool manufacturing in Columbus, and much credit is his share for having furnished so great an amount of good cloth to clothe and tent our army in the field. May he prosper as he deserves! I offer him my thanks for the cloth which he presented me, to have made into a genuine Confederate suit, to shield me from a cold Virginia winter. My memory from comfort will often revert to his appropriate gift when snow does most abound.

I learn with much satisfaction, from those who know, that the city of Montgomery is doing her part in furnishing her quota of the material of war. The activity exhibited in these departments, though diversified, bespeaks that the Alabamians have determined to defend their soil from any and every encroachment. Their stubborn resistance to the foe in the West and on the battle-fields of Virginia and Maryland, is too well known to be considered a trivial opposition by the common enemy.

Governor Shorter—than whom a truer, nobler Southern patriot never breathed—has entered with his earnest heart into every measure for the amelioration of the Alabama troops in the field, the manufacture of weapons of war, the support of the families of absent soldiers, and the development of the natural resources of the State.

In a word, in him we find blended the sagacity of the statesman, the ardor of the philanthropist, the warm heartedness of the benevolent man, and the virtues of the true christian gentlemen. The State may have had older Governors, but none more loved and respected by all classes. Higher civic honors are worn by inferior men to him.

I perceive immense amounts of clothing, shoes, hats, and under garments, are being transported to the Alabama troops in the different portions of the Confederacy. This speaks nobly.

From a letter under date 9th instant., from Dr. Frank C. Ellison, I learn Privates William E. Hill and Wm. Frazier, of Co. I, 20th Ga. Regt., who were taken prisoners since the late battle at Manassas, have been exchanged and are now sick at the First Georgia Hospital, Richmond.

From the same source we learn that Private B. D. Castleman, of the same company, has been promoted to a Lieutenancy in the Ordnance Department at Richmond.

The numerous friends of the *Mail* will learn with pleasure that all the obstacles incident to the re-starting a Daily has



been finally overcome, and its cheering face will smile on its many readers, on and after to-morrow evening, with all its former regularity and vivacity. It is a sprightly, interesting diurnal, and one that will always claim a large portion of the patronage, and all the confidence of the mercantile, mechanical, and agricultural community, for the earliest telegraphic, personal, war and commercial intelligence. It has ever been an old favorite with the public, and we see no reason now, that it has come forth from under the pressure of the war times, under the proprietorship of Messrs. H. F. Coyne & Co., that it will be taken by all its old patrons not in the war, and thousands who never enjoyed its racy columns, which have made it "*one of the papers.*"

J. T. S.

Congaree House  
Columbia, South Carolina  
January 7, 1863

Dear *Enquirer* :\*

By way of preface, let me say to you that having left Montgomery yesterday, at 8 a.m., I arrived at the Capital of the Palmetto State after a 32 hours railroad ride, over a good road, with safe conductors and engineers.

On leaving Montgomery I was greatly surprised to find the train crowded with our true Southern men, all of whom were "off to the wars again," having recovered from their wounds, and fully imbued with a spirit of doing further damage to our common foe.

Between Montgomery and Atlanta we observed several trains filled in hold and on deck with the live specimens of Gen. Bragg's recent innovation on the onward march of Lincoln's hirelings. From the train on which we were traveling, cheer after cheer would drown the "clickety-click" of the cars when we passed the gentlemen in Federal blue, bound for Vicksburg. The prisoners generally were a fine looking set of men by every outward appearance, and only minus the "sand

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\*The Weekly Columbus (Georgia) *Enquirer*, January 20, 1863.

in the craw," or they never would have been taken by our "rebel raga-muffins."

Speaking of these captured individuals, I learned they were to be quartered in the houses at Vicksburg, and in case of the bombardment of that gallant Gibraltar of the South, they would receive some of the deadly iron missiles intended for your especial benefit. The idea, though distasteful in a civilized view of the correct mode of war, is at this time, in my humble opinion, only "a Roland for an Oliver" for the treatment we have received from Yankee brutality.

All along our brief line of travel we observed more or less of our valiant spirits coming out again from home to swell the column of General Lee, who knows how to fight to the great consternation and destruction of the enemy. To our question, "where are you bound, boys?" they invariably replied "to reinforce Bragg or Lee." Noble replies from patriotic spirits.

The farms along the route are being very generally turned up with the plow, and bespeak that breadstuffs will not be overlooked in the future.

The towns and cities all have a dull appearance, and the all engrossing subject is the welfare of our cause and the early success of our arms.

I will write from Richmond.

J. T. S.

Montgomery, Alabama  
December 31, 1863

Editor *Enquirer* :\*

The Christmas holidays pass away with the present day, and a new year dawns on us tomorrow. May it prove a brighter and happier year than sixty-three. Since this day one year ago, a series of bright successes as well as dishonorable defeats,

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\*The Daily Columbus (Georgia) *Enquirer*, January 5, 1864.

have blest and oppressed our cause. All the heart of the patriot can hope, pray and fight for, is our independence as a free and untrammelled Confederacy. Heaven vouches for the glorious desideratum to our beleaguered South!

Now that the most severe season of the winter is upon the poor barefooted and almost clotheless soldiers in the field, and all the pinching wants of life are felt by his needy family at home, it behooves the philanthropist to falter not, and weary not, in well doing, but to extend the most unbounded charity of purse and friendship to the soldier in his snowy camp, and to his needy wife and little ones at homes. It is no more than his just due and Heaven will reward the benevolent who in the strife and struggle for wealth, can so long pause as to benefit and befriend the defenders of the South.

The bill just passed by Congress by which all men who have furnished substitutes will have to "hie to the field," meets with great favor from those who on account of their pecuniary disability, as well as a sense of duty they owe their country, have borne all the physical burthen of the war from its inception until the present day. Now that the wealthy man who owned money and negroes enough to keep his precious carcass out of the reach of the Yankee lead, is reduced to the level of the poor man, with a dozen helpless children, there will spring up a new enthusiasm in the army, and we look forward to a future pregnant with victorious results in our strife against our common foe. But the great question now to be solved first, is: "Will those very men now called into the service, be compelled to shoulder their muskets and come to the relief of the heroes of the whole war?"

The Christmas of 1863, was very unlike the Christmases of old. True there was some exhibition of flue dresses by the ladies of speculators, and some fine specimens of gentlemen's wardrobes worn by speculators themselves. Negroes, and a certain class who do not owe allegiance to the Confederacy, seemed to be the most flush with money, and wore the best suits of clothing, whilst the poor crippled or debilitated soldier and his needy wife and little ones presented a strange contrast in the point of comfort and cheer.

There is little or news afloat here. Trade is dull—stocks of every kind light and held at high prices. Provisions and every necessary of life are almost beyond the reach of the poor; and even the one item, firewood, is scarce and sold at very dear rates. The result is that much suffering will ensue, unless the benevolent bestir themselves in this trying hour to the needy poor.

The Alabama river is at present full almost to overflowing. Steamers are regularly plying between hence and Mobile, and the cars run with their usual regularity, and arrive and depart with full loads of human freight and blockage goods.

To-night there is to be a great speechifying in the Capitol (rain or shine), plenty of the former which is falling profusely now, and addresses are to be made by Gov. Watts, Judge Phelan and Captain Bard, on the "condition of the country and the wants of the army." The papers earnestly plead for a full attendance. We presume some of the City Provost Guard, with umbrellas covering themselves and muskets, will be there to see, and ensure decorum and quietude on the occasion. Should I attend will endeavor to give a synopsis of the proceedings.

The weather, up to present writing, continues inclement, and no signs of an early solstice with the rain king. But—  
halt!

Thine,

J. T. S.

## TWO UNCOLLECTED CIVIL WAR POEMS OF ALEXANDER BEAUFORT MEEK

*By Benjamin B. Williams*

*Instructor of Alabama, Montgomery Center*

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Alexander Beaufort Meek (1814-1865) was Alabama's foremost ante-bellum poet, an opinion confirmed by both his contemporaries and recent literary historians.<sup>1</sup> The reasonable expectation that he would be chief among the singers of Alabama's participation in the Civil War was dispelled by his scant poetic efforts during the conflict. The only war poem by Meek to find a place in the collections of Confederate poetry is "Wouldst Thou Have Me Love Thee." This poem is actually a revision of Meek's Mexican War lyric "The Fields of Mexico," and was published in its original form in Meek's collected poems in 1857.<sup>2</sup>

Only two poems known to have been written by Meek during the Civil War have come to light, and neither has been included in any of the post-war collections of Southern verse. One of these, "That the Bugles Say," was written in 1862 and reprinted in a magazine after the war.<sup>3</sup> The other poem, "Martyrs of the South," was published in the *Mobile Advertiser*

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Octavia Le Vert, "A Tribute to Henry Clay: An Address . . . New Orleans, Louisiana, April 12, 1856," **Library of Southern Literature** (New Orleans, 1908-1913), VII, 3238; William R. Smith, **Reminiscences of a Long Life** (Washington, D. C., 1889), p. 342; Margaret G. Figh, "Alexander Beaufort Meek: Pioneer Man of Letters," **Alabama Historical Quarterly**, II (Summer, 1940), 127-151; and Jay B. Hubbell, **The South in American Literature, 1607-1900** (Durham, N. C., 1954), pp. 624-28.

<sup>2</sup>The Mexican War version of the poem is in Meek, **Songs and Poems of the South** (Mobile and New York, 1857), pp. 9-11. The Civil War revision can be found in William Gilmore Simms, **War Poetry of South** (New York, 1866), pp. 61-62; Frank Moore, **Songs and Ballads of the Southern People** (New York, 1886), pp. 52-53 and W. L. Fagan, **Southern War Songs** (New York, 1889), pp. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup>*DeBow's Review*, N.S. II, 69-70 (July, 1866) .



and *Register* on May 15, 1864 and perhaps copied in other newspapers at that time.<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that the poem has appeared since that time in any other medium. Although neither of these poems can match the quality of Meek's better verses, they are superior to many of the pieces which can be found in post-war anthologies of Confederate war songs.

"What the Bugles Say" is a three stanza poem somewhat reminiscent of lyric passages in *The Red Eagle*,<sup>5</sup> in which Meek displays a fondness for onomatopoeia and frequent use of exclamations. The poem is reproduced below:

### WHAT THE BUGLES SAY

*By A. B. Meek*

Hark! the bugles on the hill!  
Tarala! Tarala!  
All the vale their echoes fill!  
Tarala! Tarala!  
"Gather, gather stalwart men,  
From the forest, field and glen;  
Leave the hammer, axe and plow,  
Warrior deeds demand ye now!  
Hasten to the crimson field,  
There the glittering bayonets wield!  
There confront the cannon's mouth,  
Fearless champions of the South!"

Hark! again the bugles sound!  
Tarala! Tarala!  
How their echoes scream around!  
Tarala! Tarala!

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<sup>4</sup>The original version of this poem was recently discovered by this writer in the files of the Mobile **Advertiser and Register** in the Alabama State Department of Archives and History. The only other extant version of the poem, an undated clipping in the Meek file of the Archives, contains several errors when compared to the original, and is obviously a copy reprinted in another newspaper.

<sup>5</sup>Meek's major poetic work is the book-length narrative, **The Red Eagle** (1855), whose hero, the Indian chief Weatherford, or Red Eagle, was the principal leader in the Creek War of 1813-14.

“Lo! the grim and impious foe,  
 Comes to lay your altars low—  
 Comes to blast with sword and brand,  
 Vandal-like, your happy land!  
 Led by rapine—fired by lust—  
 Heedless of the right and just—  
 Fetters brings he, chains and gyves,  
 Dark dishonor for your wives!”

Hark! then hark! the bugles call!

Tarala! Tarala!

Angel-toned they cry to all!

Tarala! ...Tarala!

“By the God who rules above!

By the beings whom ye love,

By the rights your fathers won,

By the manes of Washington,

Rouse and meet the invading band,

Sweep them chaff-like from the land!

Daring ev’n the cannon’s mouth,

Fearless champions of the South!”

Although “Martyrs of the South” was published in May 1864, the time of composition for the poem, determined from internal evidence, must have been in late 1863. Meek memorialized twenty-one Confederate generals and thirteen Alabama officers in this poem. The latest established date of death among these was that of Colonel Richard Freer Ingle who died of wounds received at Chickamauga on September 23, 1863. We may assume that Meek wrote this poem soon after this date as any extended delay in composing it would surely have necessitated the inclusion of the names of distinguished warriors who fell after Chickamauga.

The eighth stanza of the poem records the names of the Alabama officers killed. The poem in its entirety follows:

### THE MARTYRS OF THE SOUTH

*By A. B. Meek*

Oh, weep not for the gallant hearts  
 Who fell in battle’s day;

They well performed their hero parts,  
And passed from earth away.  
They lie asleep on honor's bed—  
Young Freedom's martyr band—  
For all that's dear to man they bled—  
For God and native land!

Weep not for Jackson, who laid down  
His life in fullest fame;  
Who always wore the victor's crown,  
Now wears a deathless name!  
O! what a loss that day was ours,  
When that great light grew dim  
We weep amid our darkened bowers,  
But do not weep for him.

For Sidney Johnston—whose high worth  
Was Freedom's polar star—  
Who, like Elijah, passed from earth  
In battle's fiery car—  
Shed not a tear—he is not dead—  
But up from Shiloh gone!—  
Where wreaths ambrosial deck his head,  
Beside great Washington!

Weep not for Garnett, his young brow  
Among the earliest paled;  
Though death compelled his form to bow,  
His spirit never quailed!  
Among Virginia's mountain heights,  
With Garland by his side,  
And Starke—they fought for ravished rights,  
And for their country died.

Oh, for McCulloch, do not weep—  
The Marion of the West—  
Nor for Bartow, nor Bee—but keep  
Their memories in the breast.  
They realized man's noblest fate—  
In victory's lap to lie—  
We all must die, soon or late—  
How blest like them to die!

Fair Mississippi's stalwart chief—  
    Brave Barksdale, too, has gone,  
And Zollicoffer's life too brief,  
    And Green—and brave Mouton.  
Kentucky's Hanson slumbers low,  
    With Helm and Branch as well;  
Pour not for them the stream of woe,  
    With angels now they dwell!

A curse upon the felon foe—  
    Freebooters of the West—  
Who hurled their red assassin blow,  
    On gallant Gladden's breast!  
Gregg, Griffith, Tilghman, Seymour, Cobb,  
    Now live with him in death!—  
The gaunt hyenas cannot rob  
    The grave, of its green wreath.

For Alabama's own loved dead,  
    Though humbler be their names,  
Why should the selfish tear be shed?  
    They now are God's and fame's.  
Rest Irby, Webb, Jones, Hobbs and Hale,  
    Rest Jewett, Summers, Moore,  
Inge, Garrott, Lomax, Pelham, Baine,  
    On death's triumphant shore.

What stars crowd out upon the sky,  
    Of history, as I write!  
Would I could number them on high,  
    The planets of our night!  
They live immortal; and for them  
    We need not drop the tear;  
Each wears a golden diadem,  
    In a celestial sphere!

But we must weep—aye deeply mourn  
    For our ownselves benefit,  
The priesthood from our altars torn,  
    Our homes in darkness left,

The widowed and the orphan band  
On fate's rude waters tost—  
Weep for the anguish-stricken land,  
That such great souls has lost!<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>The Alabama officers named in the eighth stanza of the poem were: Colonel Egbert J. Jones (died of wounds at Orange Court House, Va., July 21, 1861); Lt. Colonel Thomas Evans Irby (killed at Williamsburg, Va., May 5, 1862; Captain Leonard F. Summers (killed in May, 1862); Colonel Tennent Lomax (killed at Seven Pines, June 1, 1862; Lt. Colonel David William Baine (killed at Frazer's Farm, Va., June 30, 1862); Lt. Colonel Stephen Fowler Hale (wounded at Gaines Mill and died at Richmond, July 18, 1862); Captain Thomas Hubbard Hobbs (died of wounds received at Seven Pines, July 24, 1862); Colonel Sydenham Moore (died of wounds received at Seven Pines, August 20, 1862); Major John Pelham (killed at Kelly's Ford, Va., March 17, 1863); Colonel (his promotion to Brigadier-General was before Congress) Isham Warren Garrott (died of wounds near Vicksburg, Miss., July 17, 1863); Colonel James D. Webb (died of wounds at Elk River, Tenn., July 19, 1863); Major Origen Sibley Jewett (killed at Chickamauga, September, 1863); and Colonel Richard Freer Inge (died of wounds received at Chickamauga, September 23, 1863).



## POLITICAL PARTIES AND PROPAGANDA IN ALABAMA IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

*By Durward Long, Assistant Professor,  
Department of History and Government  
Florida Southern College  
Lakeland, Florida*

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As the presidential election of 1860 approached, there were five separate political groups in Alabama. There were the old Whigs from the western and central counties, calling themselves Constitutional Unionists, who advocated a break with the Democrats. The moderate Southern Rights men, mainly in the southern and central counties, believed that John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was the candidate who would protect their interests as well as keep the Union intact. A third group, the old Jacksonian Democrats from North Alabama, who had consistently opposed the Democrats from other sections of the state, found it difficult to support the candidate of their traditional opponents but had none of their own on which they could agree. Another group of Democrats, mostly from Mobile, Montgomery, and Huntsville, proposed Stephen A. Douglas as their candidate. Finally, there was the extreme Southern Rights Opposition movement in the western and central counties—with no candidate.

In the late spring of 1860 the five groups crystallized into three: the Constitutional Unionists who decided upon John Bell of Tennessee and Edward A. Everett of Massachusetts; the Southern Righters and many of the Southern Rights Oppositionists who supported Breckinridge; and the third, organized around Stephen A. Douglas, which included some of the Jacksonians from North Alabama. During the campaign, all three candidates had support in each of the important sections of the state. The three most strategic locations were Mobile, Montgomery, and Huntsville, representing the southern, central, and northern parts of the state respectively.

Douglas was supported by newspapers of substantial circulation in each of these points. In Huntsville, the *Southern Advocate* endorsed Douglas early in the campaign. The *Montgomery Confederation*, edited by J. J. Seibels was also a staunch Douglas supporter. The *Selma Sentinel*, of Dallas County, also supported Douglas and by so doing won the support of the fictitious figure of local humor, Captain Simon Suggs.<sup>1</sup> The humorist wrote the following letter to the editor:

Dear Old Friend Hardy:

I am delighted with the *Sentinel*. It suits my fancy. I am for Douglas and Johnson. Douglas is the only statesman now in the United States, since the death of Benton, Calhoun, Clay and Webster. He is more like "Old Hickory" than any other man now living. The nullifiers, I see, are fighting Douglas just as they did Jackson—and Douglas will whip 'em just as Jackson did; I helped Jackson whip the crazy creatures and I'm going to help Douglas do it. Send me several extra copies of the *Sentinel*.<sup>2</sup>

A Breckinridge paper, the *Benton Weekly Herald*, replied that since Captain Suggs was a "coarse, vulgar, unrefined" man "in which no delicate sensibilities ever found a resting place," it was perfectly natural for him to support Douglas and the *Sentinel*.<sup>3</sup> In the South, John Forsyth, former minister to Mexico and state representative from Mobile, as the influential editor of the *Mobile Register*, sought to win his county for the Illinois candidate. The *Alabama Beacon*, in Greensboro, under the editorial leadership of John G. Harvey, added its voice to the campaign for Douglas. The *Beacon* observed that in the fourteen counties which constituted north Alabama, Douglas

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<sup>1</sup>Created by Johnson Jones Hooper, editor of the *Montgomery Mail*. Hooper who supported Breckinridge, evidently used Suggs' support of Douglas as a device to associate the vulgar and undesirables with Douglas and thus attempt to damage his reputation in Alabama. See Annie Mae Hollingsworth, "Johnson Jones Hooper", *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, I (Fall, 1930), pp. 257-260.

<sup>2</sup>*Benton Weekly Herald*, August 16, 1860.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>See the Huntsville *Democrat* and the Greensboro *Alabama Beacon*, September 21, 1860.

had only two newspapers supporting him.<sup>4</sup> This fact does not seem to be consistent with the view that north Alabama was largely in favor of Douglas.

Bell, too, had newspaper propagandists in the campaign. In reality, a great many more supported the Constitutional Union candidate than campaigned for Douglas. In the northern part of the state the Athens *Union Banner* rallied voters to Bell. In the central section, in and around Montgomery, Daniel Sayre, formerly editor of the Whig *Macon County Republican*, employed the Montgomery *Daily Post* as a zealous supporter of the Constitutional Union cause. The Greenville *Southern Messenger*, in Butler County, was another important Bell and Everett organ as was the Selma *Reporter* in Dallas County. It is significant that Bell's newspaper support came largely from profitable slaveholding counties and Mobile. C. C. Langdon, mainstay of the Whigs in the Mobile area during the late forties and early fifties, effectively utilized the columns of the Mobile *Advertiser* in Bell's favor. Perhaps the location of these papers indicate a reflection of the two "kinds" of Whigs, the agrarian and the commercial Whigs.

Breckinridge newspapers, like Bell organs, were widespread and numerous, far surpassing in number the Bell and Douglas periodicals. The Huntsville *Democrat*, Johnson Jones Hooper's Montgomery *Mail*, claiming the largest circulation in Montgomery, and the Mobile *Mercury* took extreme Southern ground, supporting Breckinridge. Samuel Gersham Reid and George H. Shorter, state printers, campaigned for Breckinridge in their paper, the Montgomery *Weekly Advertiser*. The *Spirit of the South*, published in Eufaula, fevently supported the candidate of the Southern Democracy. Breckinridge support is noticeable in all parts of the state, the north Alabama mountain and Tennessee Valley counties, the planter counties of the center of the state and the southern "potentially planter" counties. The Florence *Gazette*, an important paper in Lauderdale County in the northwest corner of the state, championed the cause of Breckinridge and Lane. Among the other newspapers backing Breckinridge were the *Southern Champion* of Monroe County, the Abbeville *Advertiser* in Henry County, the Benton *Weekly Herald* in Lowndes, the Tuscaloosa *Observer*, the Tuscumbia *Constitution*, and the Wetumpka *Spectator*.

All three candidates, therefore, had important propaganda devices in strategic locations throughout the state, though Breckinridge had the greatest number promoting his candidacy. It is also of importance to note that at least thirty-three newspapers, over one-third of the total (96) in the state in 1860, as early as June, 1860, approved the "right" of secession. Moreover, it is noteworthy that a newspaper's position regarding the legality of secession, of itself, did not determine the candidate supported. Other factors determined that decision.

Each faction not only had substantial newspaper support, but also had considerable support from able Alabama political leaders. No candidate, however, drew the support of an entire group of local, state, or national officeholders. Party machinery, therefore, was divided, though unequally, among the candidates. Perhaps Bell had the smallest number of the outstanding politicians in his camp. Among his supporters, however, were men like Jeremiah Clemens, Representative from Huntsville, Thomas H. Watts, local political leader of the Black Belt, and Henry W. Hilliard, an accomplished politician and former state representative from the Eufaula and Montgomery district. A contributing factor to this lack of officeholder support for Bell was the fact that the old Whig politicians were in most instances out of power at this particular time. The Douglas forces included supporters John A. Winston, John Forsyth, Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick, Congressmen Williamson R. W. Cobb from the Huntsville District and George S. Houston from the Florence District, Nicholas Davis of Madison County, and J. J. Seibels, Montgomery editor and previously a contender for leadership of the Alabama Democrats. The Breckinridge camp embraced William L. Yancey of Montgomery, Judge John E. Moore of Lauderdale, John T. Morgan of Dallas County, William F. Samford of Russell County, Senator Clement Claiborne Clay, Jr. and Leroy Pope Walker of North Alabama, and Congressman Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry of Talladega County. As might be suspected, within each division of supporters were political views of all shades, reflecting generally the local situation. For example, Clemens' unionism was quite a contrast to Watts' states rights attitude though both "stumped" for Bell. Although the Douglas faction was somewhat at a disadvantage by the lack of newspaper support, no

candidate suffered for leaders in the state at large. Leadership played the most significant part on the local scene.

The basic issue of the presidential election of 1860 was cast as "secession or union" by the Bell and Douglas propaganda. The charge of secession was directed against Breckinridge to defeat him, therefore it is assumed that the Bell and Douglas men anticipated public opinion to be against secession as a campaign principle. As election day drew nearer there developed a close similarity between Breckinridge's opponents; so close, in fact, that they often used each other's propaganda accusing the Breckinridge party of having a "design to disunion." In denying this assertion, Breckinridge supporters hoped to put emphasis on the "true issue" of the campaign. The facts indicate, however, that the parties in Alabama fought out the election in the traditional manner.

What was the role of secession in the campaign? Did the parties present alternate choices to the voter? Did the Alabama voter make his selection on the issue of secession? Was the vote cast for the party most likely to act consistently with the secession views of the voter? This study attempts to suggest answers for these questions. In determining answers, a close study of Alabama newspapers has been made, selections from which appear in this paper. A comparison of the November vote and the party supported was made with the attitude later expressed regarding secession. A survey of the various positions of Alabama political leaders, the propaganda of the campaign, and the slogans and mastheads of partisan newspapers contribute to the answers.

Newspapers during this period were very important as part of the party machinery and as such are fairly good sources in determining the issues of the 1860 campaign. The many slogans and mastheads which appeared during the campaign and shortly before give some indication of the type of appeal directed to the voters. Many of the Breckinridge papers had much to say in favor of disunion. A few, however, were noncommittal or ambiguous about separation. A case in point, the Greenville *South Alabamian*, featured the heading, "Individual Rights, Individually Respected." The Benton *Alabama*



*Weekly Herald* carried the words "Southern Rights and Southern Equality," in bold letters as a masthead from April to June 14 at which time it was changed to read "Equality or a Southern Confederacy."<sup>5</sup> The *Eufaula Spirit of the South* continued to print a large heading, "Equality in the Union or Independence Out of It," which it had run for five years.<sup>6</sup> The *Florence Gazette* carried a quotation from Breckinridge, "The Constitution and the Equality of the States, these are the symbols of everlasting union."<sup>7</sup> Another Breckinridge supporter, the *Clairborne Southern Champion* in Monroe County held aloft the slogan, "Southern Rights—Southern Interests and Southern Institutions."<sup>8</sup> Only a few of the Bell papers featured mastheads similar to those supporting Douglas. The most common were illustrated by the slogan used by Daniel Sayre, editor of the *Montgomery Post*, "The Constitution—Union of the States—Enforcement of the Laws."<sup>9</sup> The Douglas papers, of which the *Montgomery Confederation* was an example, were usually content to list the names of their candidates, sometimes adding almost as an afterthought, "And the Union." The *Greensboro Alabama Beacon* pictured a flag above the slogan "Constitution and Union."<sup>10</sup>

Regardless of the candidate supported, newspaper columns were strikingly similar in sifting out Southern Rights as the basic issue. This term was used by Breckinridge, Bell, and Douglas newspapers. The *Montgomery Confederation* (Douglas), *Advertiser*, (Breckinridge), and *Post*, (Bell) mentioned Southern Rights most frequently as the issue. The papers in Mobile, the *Advertiser* (Bell), the *Register* (Douglas), and the *Mercury* (Breckinridge), all agitated for Southern Rights. To all factions, then the fundamental issue was, "Southern Rights: Would They Be Respected and Maintained?" Every other issue was somehow related to this one. The differences peculiar to the 1860 divisions were those growing out of conflicting definitions of Southern Rights and/or disagreements on how they would be protected and reclaimed.

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<sup>5</sup>April 1 to August 16, 1860.

<sup>6</sup>January through November, 1860.

<sup>7</sup>November 24, 1860.

<sup>8</sup>June to November 9, 1860.

<sup>9</sup>July to November, 1860.

<sup>10</sup>September 14, 1860.

The nebulous quality of these rights became all things to all Southerners. Over an extended period of time, particularly between 1820 and 1860, symbols had been erected which portrayed rights to Southerners. To some, the right to extend slavery wherever the Union expanded was a Southern Right to be maintained. To others, the Personal Liberty laws of Northern states were symbols of the abuse of Southern Rights and, in effect, the loss of them. Still others viewed the tolerance and encouragement by Northerners of incendiary action of abolitionists, of which John Brown fulfilled the image, as deep enmity to Southern Rights. Internal improvements, storage and movement of arms, military policy, land measures and the tariff were all interpreted by Alabamians and other Southerners in relation to Southern Rights.

Therefore there were not many really important differences of policy in the state, and many times the only way it was possible to distinguish the campaigners' propaganda was by discovering whom the propagandists attacked and criticized. The Bell and Douglas forces often joined criticisms against Breckinridge, particularly in the charge of disunion. Out of all the negative propaganda the reader usually comes out with the idea that the objective for all the Alabama parties was, for all practical purposes, the same—to win the election in Alabama and to guarantee Southern Rights by their peculiar action or means. The degree or length to which the individual voter was willing to go to achieve this end was many times dependent upon his section and was influential in his choice at the polls. The Douglas supporters sought to guarantee Southern Rights by voting for a possible winner (made so by Northern support) who, out of debt and in gratitude, would grant Southern demands and be sympathetic to Southern Rights. The Breckinridge group determined to win the election or throw it into the House by the multiple party vote. By either result they felt that Southern Rights would be insured. The Bell faction, not able to support personalities and parties historically antagonistic to their policies, sought the same ends as did the Douglas and Breckinridge men, differing in the means—the election of Bell, the compromise candidate by which they hoped to carry the border states and a few Northern states. Then, after salving their pride of consistency in the November election,

Bell's supporters would be willing to give their electoral votes to either Douglas or Breckinridge to defeat Lincoln.

All three political divisions were erroneous in their projections. The Breckinridge party contemplated carrying, as a certainty, the Southern states, California, and Oregon (by Lane's strength), which would give it 127 electoral votes. That meant they would need only 25 more to win. These they hoped to get in New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio,<sup>11</sup> particularly in face of the threat of secession. Secession did not appear that real or certain to the North. The Douglas faction not only overestimated its strength in the Northern states but underestimated the great number of Southerners who would vote for Breckinridge and "principle." The new Whiggery was also completely wrong in supposing Lincoln's party so discordant that a large number of old Northern Whigs could be pulled away.

In all of these designs Southerners generally agreed that the objective was protection of Southern Rights. Though there was basic disagreement, particularly before November, as to whether these rights could be protected best in or out of the Union, propaganda reflects that this was not the decisive issue of the election. The attacks of each of the parties on the others are very revealing. The Montgomery *Daily Post*, a Bell paper, found much fault with General Joseph Lane's acceptance of the vice-presidential nomination on the ticket with Breckinridge. Always more extreme in opposition to the Breckinridge faction than Douglas, the *Post* quoted Lane as saying he was against territories exercising power to prohibit slavery and invalidating property by unfriendly legislation. This paper charged Lane with saying that the friendly legislature could not even establish slavery. For these sentiments, the Bell paper denounced Lane without mercy. The editor said that Lane's position was "worse than squatter sovereignty," for even Douglas "does not pretend to doubt that the territorial legislatures have a perfect right to establish and protect slavery." The *Post* went on to say that even if a territory were filled with slaveholders they could not establish or protect slavery under

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<sup>11</sup>See Ollinger Crenshaw, *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), p. 61.

the Lane doctrine.<sup>12</sup> From the context the reader concludes that *Post's* position was that Congress should protect slavery in the territories and that even the territorial legislatures could not prohibit such protection.

The same issue of the Bell organ replied to the *Mail's* request for a unified front for "States Rights and Equality," which according to the *Mail*, was represented by the Breckinridge and Lane party. The *Post* answered by reminding the *Mail's* editors and readers that Breckinridge and Lane were not the only candidates standing for States Rights and Equality, hence intimating that this was the *Post's* position.<sup>13</sup> Later the *Post* accused both Breckinridge and Lane of being submissionists, and cited that as the reason "why the Breckinridge papers will not publish Joe Lane's speech at Indianapolis or Breckinridge's answer to the Norfolk questions."<sup>14</sup> The editor, Daniel Sayre, also charged Breckinridge with leaving his platform and stealing the Constitutional Union's stand regarding positive congressional intervention in the territories.<sup>15</sup> The fact that Joseph Lane had voted for the Homestead Bill was also a point of attack for the Bell papers.

Other favorite criticisms centered on Lane's opposition to congressional protection of slavery, "a true Southern principle," on his support of submission in case of Lincoln's election, "contrary to the South's attitude," and Breckinridge's approval of squatter sovereignty in July, 1856.<sup>16</sup> In a column headed, "Keep it Before the People," the Bell papers attempted to show that whereas Breckinridge as a potential vice-presidential nominee had been against slavery extension and congressional protection in 1856, Bell supported both slavery's extension and its protection by Congress.<sup>17</sup> Based on the *Post*, Bell's Alabama supporters stood for: (1) protection of slavery in the territories by the federal government, or intervention, (2) opposition to submission, (3) opposition to squatter sovereignty, and (4) protection of Southern Rights, or the rights of the slaveholders.

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<sup>12</sup>Montgomery *Daily Post*, July 18, 1860.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, November 7, 1860.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, October 16, 1860.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, November 5, 1860.



The Breckinridge press was merciless to John Bell. From September 26 through November 5, 1860,<sup>18</sup> the *Mail* carried "A Part of John Bell's Black Record." The most significant charges against Bell were that he voted with Chase and Seward regularly, that he was opposed to the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and that he felt Congress had the power to abolish slavery in the District. Charging Edward Everett, Bell's running mate, with the same sentiments, the *Mail* arrived at the conclusion that both men were antislavery. On October 23, and repeatedly afterward, Johnson J. Hooper, editor of the *Mail*, accused Everett of endorsing amalgamation of whites and blacks. The basis for this conclusion was the fact that the candidate's children were sent to school with Negroes.<sup>19</sup> Thus the *Mail* expressed its position for the Congressional protection of slavery as a constitutional property right, for the continuance of slavery, for white supremacy, and the continuance of a Southern or white man's culture.

Even though the Breckinridge Montgomery *Mail* abused and refuted Bell's doctrines, an examination of its criticisms and of the policies it advocated indicated that the ideas were very similar. On the defense, particularly, both the Bell and the Breckinridge papers exhibited certain common sentiments. John Bell was extolled by his editor friends as a public servant of thirty years' experience, a Southerner, a slaveholder, an opponent of squatter sovereignty (hence his vote against the Kansas Nebraska Bill), and an advocate of admitting all states with the constitution of their choice. Everett was absolved from being an abolitionist and was described as against Negro equality and "ready to defend the rights of slaveholders."<sup>20</sup>

There was a slight distinction, however, in the statements regarding intervention in the territories. The Bell papers described Bell and Everett's position of intervention in the territories as the John C. Calhoun interpretation. This view was that the Congress must protect slavery in the territories and that the territorial legislatures could not prohibit slavery.

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<sup>18</sup>Every intervening issue was examined and found to contain this column.

<sup>19</sup>Montgomery *Mail*, October 23, 1860.

<sup>20</sup>Montgomery *Weekly Post*, November 7, 1860.



Afterward, however, the doctrine continues, the accepted constitution of the new state would make provisions regarding slavery and could either establish or prohibit it.<sup>21</sup> The later provision is the distinction. Though Breckinridge had endorsed such a policy, the *Post* accused him of stealing the plank from the Constitutional Union Party. The over-all result, however, was the same. Even though a few of the extremists might have said little about the power of a state constitution to prohibit slavery, the Breckinridge and Bell stand was practically the same.

Despite the fact that Douglas' personal stand on the above issue was one of squatter sovereignty, the Alabama supporters of the "Little Giant" rejected this plank of the platform and accepted the idea of congressional intervention. The Douglas papers were content in large measure to rest their case in denouncing Breckinridge and Yancey as revolutionists and disunionists while, paradoxically, also calling them submissionists. Their approach to the campaign was not on issues, but expediency—to win with Douglas. Douglas' views regarding secession and squatter sovereignty were often ignored or deemphasized by the *Confederation*, the *Register*, and the *Huntsville Southern Advocate*. As a substitution they proclaimed him the candidate of the *national* party and the candidate for union and equality. The Douglas editors in Alabama, by and large, were in sympathy with the intervention doctrine, the idea of white supremacy, and other facets of Southern Rights for which the Bell and Breckinridge organs stood, even admitting the right and legality of secession, though perhaps questioning the validity of the current grounds for such action.

The Breckinridge propaganda was extremely defensive concerning secession. Speeches in which unionism was praised by Breckinridge and Lane were often printed and emphasized, particularly by north Alabama organs like the *Florence Gazette*. An effective device utilized by many of the Breckinridge papers was the appeal to white men over the emotionally related issue of amalgamation. In addition to that approach, many of the papers which supported the Southern Democratic candidate

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<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*

carried a column entitled, "Remember, Southern Men." Southerners were asked to remember that Stephen A. Douglas

says that the legislature of a territory, the creature of Congress, which is paid out of the Treasury of the United States, can exclude your property from its limits... He denies to Southern men the right of protection of the government for their property in the territories.<sup>22</sup>

The progandists also reminded the voter that the *Mobile Register*, supporting Douglas in 1860, had printed in December, 1857, that "Stephen A. Douglas now stands side by side with the *Sewards*, the *Hales*, the *Bentons*, and the *Greeleys*."<sup>23</sup> The clinching argument against Douglas was a quotation in which he said that "he would hang as high as Virginia hung [sic] John Brown, any man who would not submit to Lincoln rule."<sup>24</sup>

Bell, too, was disposed of in orderly fashion by the Breckinridge propaganda. Bell's opposition to the annexation of Texas, and the admission of Kansas as a slave state under the Lecompton Constitution were thought sufficient reasons for the South to denounce him. Bell's vote to receive abolitionist petitions in Congress, his opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and his favoring the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia were added to the list to convince the doubtful Alabama voter.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, Breckinridge was lauded because he "is in favor of the Constitution as it was and is... of the Union in the terms and spirit of the Constitution... of the equality of the States and of the equal rights of the people of the States."<sup>26</sup> Joseph E. Lane was quoted as saying "that he will never draw his sword against any people fighting for their constitutional rights."<sup>27</sup> Both Lane and Breckinridge were

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<sup>22</sup>Greenville *Southern Champion*, November 2, 1860. This column was used by many other Breckinridge papers; most all consulted for the period of September-November, 1860, carried it.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

pictured as in agreement in endorsing the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court as the basis for slavery in the territories. In the northern part of the state, the *Florence Gazette*, a few days before the election, rallied and urged the "Democrats" to the polls, asking them "to fly to the rescue of the democracy of Buchanan, of Jackson, and of Jefferson," exclaiming, "our gallant and heroic leaders, Breckinridge and Lane, have locked their shields around the Constitution and the equality of the states..."<sup>28</sup> The *Gazette* evidently regarded these candidates as the nominees of the regular party and that party loyalty consisted in voting for them.

From all of the foregoing information, the conclusion is that there was a basic similarity of policy in Alabama in the campaign. It is also obvious that often it was a matter of degree, which was sometimes determined by personal temperament rather than political philosophy. There were many varying degrees of willingness to follow completely the doctrines of the candidates of each faction. Despite the fact that there was a multiparty situation existing, there were still many parties within each organization's framework. This was recognized by Daniel Sayre, editor of the *Montgomery Post*. He wrote:

The seceders have a most unmanageable set of candidates. The seceders themselves are committed to secession in the event of Lincoln's election; General Lane, on the other hand, has no idea of breaking up the Union in such a contingency, while Mr. Breckinridge refuses to have a word to say in the matter at all. The seceders demand Congressional protection to slave property in the territories. Mr. Breckinridge, on the contrary, says that the existing laws are sufficient to protect slavery, while General Lane says he has battled, and always will battle against any interference on the part of Congress and the subject of slavery, and it is a subject with which the Congress has nothing to do. It will be seen then that Mr. Breckinridge and General Lane differ materially with their party and with each other upon two very important questions.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>*Florence Gazette*, October 21, 1860.

<sup>29</sup>*Montgomery Weekly Post*, November 7, 1860.

The Breckinridge camp was not alone in having internal difficulties. Disagreement between Douglas' Alabama supporters influenced them to deny their leader's stand on squatter sovereignty and to minimize his suggested course of action in event of secession. On one hand, Bell managers outside the state denied some planks of the Alabama Bell platform, particularly the Alabama Platform and Thomas Watt's secessionist tendencies. On the other hand, Bell's Alabama supporters minimized Bell's national position. To most of all three factions, however, Southern Rights was the objective. It meant the continuance of the slavery system, equal access by slaveholders to the territories, protection of slavery under the Constitution, freedom from coercive and discriminatory legislation and abolitionist attacks, equality of appropriations in internal improvements, white supremacy in the South and Congressional intervention in the territories.

What of secession as an issue? Did any one party in Alabama stand for disunion in the election of 1860? As in Virginia, North Carolina, and Mississippi, all three groups in the election in Alabama claimed to be the party of the Union. Each attempted to outdo the other in declaring its loyalty or in attacking others which it accused of standing for disunion, or the election of which would cause disunion. After closely examining the election propaganda in Virginia, the speeches of candidates and their supporters, the county resolutions, and the vote for delegates to a "secession or union" convention, Henry T. Shanks concluded, "It would seem from this survey of the presidential campaign that there was little disunion sentiment. Each party insisted that a vote for its candidate would be a vote for the Union."<sup>30</sup> This author also maintains that by investigating election returns, the generalization that the votes for Breckinridge were cast by secessionists and the Douglas and Bell votes cast by Unionists is not a reliable conclusion.<sup>31</sup> In North Carolina, "During the campaign every party professed to be in favor of the Union."<sup>32</sup> Sitterson concluded also that on

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<sup>30</sup>Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia*. Richmond: Garret and Massie, Inc., 1934, p. 115.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>Joseph C. Sitterson, *The Secession Movement in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. 174-175.

the eve of Lincoln's election there was very little disunion sentiment in North Carolina, and this only among a few extremists and a few slaveholding counties.<sup>33</sup> During the election in Florida disunionists were to be found in each of the parties<sup>34</sup> as was the case in other Southern states when disunionists appeared.

In Alabama as in the other Southern states "there were more effective issues than disunion."<sup>35</sup> Denman described the action of Alabama: "In the campaign which followed, each of the parties professed to be the Union party, each contended that it alone could defeat the Republicans and avert secession."<sup>36</sup> Disunionists as well as unionists appeared in all three factions in Alabama. After the presidential election and in the campaign for the election of delegates to a secession convention shifts occurred which indicate that the issue in November had not been secession. If Breckinridge stood for disunion, as has been since charged, and Bell and Douglas were symbols of union, twenty-five Alabama counties reversed themselves within a month or so after the election. Nineteen counties which voted for Breckinridge in November elected cooperationist delegates<sup>37</sup> in December. Six out of ten Bell and Douglas counties of November sent secessionists to the convention. A sudden and extreme reversal of this magnitude is not probable on such an important issue. It is conceded that there was more disunion sentiment in Alabama than in Virginia or North Carolina, and that most, though not all, of the fire-eaters and rabid secessionists did support Breckinridge; yet this fact does not lead to the irrevocable conclusion that his party stood for disunion as a peculiar and distinctive policy. In fact, when the movement towards disunion was becoming more certain, Breckinridge was said to have been trying to avert it. In response to this news, one Alabamian advised that Breckinridge leave the South alone in her struggle for security.

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<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>Crenshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

<sup>35</sup>Shanks, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>36</sup>Clarence Phillips Denman, *The Secession Movement in Alabama*, (Montgomery: Alabama State Department of Archives and History, 1933) p. 82.

<sup>37</sup>Cooperationist in itself did not mean antisecession. It is significant, however, that the shift was toward unanimity on secession—hence this figure's value.



To the Alabama voter in November, then, the basic issue governing his choice was not specifically his attitude on secession. All three Alabama groups denied being the party of secession though the charge was leveled at the Breckinridge faction most often. The question to the Alabama voter must not have been whether Congress should protect slavery in the territories; the supporters of both Bell and Breckinridge professed that stand; even Douglas men denied "squatter sovereignty". One's opposition to Lincoln and Black Republicans was not crucial in determining his candidate; all three stood firm on that point. Probably, the voter's choice was largely determined by his previous political experience, the extent of his factional loyalty, his concern with patronage, and perhaps, his personal temperament. Despite the threats and ominous incidents, the Alabama voter acted no differently in the "crisis election" than he had acted before. He chose his candidate in the tradition of the American two-party system. He voted with and for the political leaders and factions he had traditionally supported. Local groups made private interpretations of national platforms to suit the local situation. In the finality, the majority of Alabama voters, whether voting for Douglas, Breckinridge, or Bell, voted for the protection of slavery, their particular interpretation of the rights of the South, and favored supporting the Union "on equitable terms". The crisis forced little change in political behaviour. The campaign propaganda was as it had been traditionally, so nearly alike for all three groups that the voter could hardly distinguish any unique stand on issues in the contest. The "choosing up" was in the historic and conventional manner. Few newspapers and/or political leaders departed from their usual political companions. Concerned with consistency and the weightier matters of the spoils of victory who could spare time and energy necessary to be a prophet?

ALABAMA PLANTATION TO GEORGIA FARM,  
JOHN HORRY DENT AND RECONSTRUCTION

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American historians frequently conclude that the collapse of the Confederacy and the years of radical reconstruction immediately following the Civil War brought about the ruin of the Southern planter class. But to such a generalization there are exceptions, one of which is clearly demonstrated by the career of John Horry Dent, for thirty years a planter in Barbour County, Alabama.

Born in 1815 in Newport, Rhode Island, where his father,<sup>1</sup> a professional naval officer, was temporarily stationed, Dent spent most of his early years on his family's plantation, Fenwick Hall, in Colleton District, South Carolina, where he grew up in the planter society typical of that day and section of the country. Although offered a naval commission by Andrew Jackson, Dent reluctantly declined it at the insistence of his mother, and instead devoted himself to learning the intricacies of plantation management. In 1835 he married Mary Elizabeth Morrison, daughter of Mrs. Mary A. Morrison, the widow of a wealthy South Carolina rice planter, and for a year the couple resided at Fenwick Hall. During this time John, long desirous of owning his own plantation, became interested in the lands of Southeast Alabama which the Creek Indians had recently ceded to the Federal Government by the Treaty of Cusseta in

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<sup>1</sup>Captain, later Commodore, John Herbert Dent, U.S.N. See James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (eds.), **Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography**. 6 vols. (New York, 1887-1889), II, 143.

1832.<sup>2</sup> Among the white men who had immediately invaded this newly acquired area was Hamilton Morrison, Dent's brother-in-law, who sent home to South Carolina glowing descriptions of the "splendid new cotton lands" now available just west of the Chattahoochie.<sup>3</sup> When in 1836 Mrs. Morrison died, leaving a rice plantation and several slaves to her daughter and son-in-law, Dent acted as promptly as propriety would allow. After a decent period of mourning he sold the plantation, kept the slaves, and in the spring of 1837 moved to Barbour County, Alabama, where meanwhile he had purchased "Good Hope" plantation (about 500 acres of fine cotton land located along Cowikee Creek, some ten miles from the town of Clayton) for which he had paid \$15.00 per acre.<sup>4</sup>

Settled in his new slave-built plantation home, Dent wrote, on January 1, 1838, an introduction to the first volume of a series of plantation journals which he was destined to keep until the onset of his final illness in 1892.<sup>5</sup> As he subsequently

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<sup>2</sup>For the text of the Treaty of Cusseta see Anne Kendrick Walker, **Backtracking in Barbour County** (Richmond, 1941), 4-6. Hereinafter cited as Walker, **Barbour County**. Although the Creeks were guaranteed undisputed possession of their land for five years, the right to remain thereafter on their land if they chose, and the removal of all white men from the territory until the lands were surveyed, hundreds of white men flocked into the area immediately touching off numerous altercations with the Creeks, and a bitter dispute between the Federal Government and the State of Alabama. Inevitably the white men stayed. The few Creeks who fought for their property were finally defeated at the Battle of Pea River in Pike County, Alabama, in February, 1837. *Ibid.*, 6-15; 47-55. See also Willis Brewer, **Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men from 1540 to 1872** (Montgomery, 1872), 50-53.

<sup>3</sup>Sketch of John Horry Dent, attributed to Governor Maximilian B. Wellborn (typescript in the Maximilian B. Wellborn Papers, in the possession of Mrs. Linton C. Hopkins, Atlanta, Georgia), 2. Hereinafter cited as Dent Sketch.

<sup>4</sup>Dent Sketch, 2.

<sup>5</sup>Introduction to the Plantation Journal of John H. Dent for the years 1891-1892, in the Wellborn Papers. Dent noted that some of the volumes for the 1840's had been lost, and that during the Civil War years a shortage of paper had precluded his making his accustomed day-by-day entries, but that he had recorded in a small volume the more important events of the war years. Then, in January, 1865, he had resumed his daily record which he had maintained "to the present." Unhappily most of these volumes cannot now be located. Two of

explained, he believed that such a daily record was necessary, not only "to ascertain the actual expenditures and income of my estate, but as a guide to my future course in business and farming," for "by references and experiences I can see if I am backward or advanced."<sup>6</sup>

From the later entries in his journals it is obvious that Dent advanced. He cleared new ground and planted it—not only in cotton, but in corn, wheat, and cover crops as well. He always endeavored to make his plantation self-sufficient, raising and curing the meat for his family and his slaves, growing vegetables of all kinds, and having his own wheat and corn ground into flour and meal for bread. An ardent advocate of scientific agriculture, he experimented with new seed, carefully recording the results of his efforts. For example, he once wrote the Commissioner of Patents, under whose jurisdiction the United States Bureau of Agriculture then was, that he had tried the new "banana" variety of cotton in small plots and found that it yielded over three thousand pounds per acre. But, he added cautiously, the Commissioner should not be misled by these results since large fields were never as well prepared nor tended as his trial plots had been.<sup>7</sup> He also discovered that wheat in Barbour County prospered far in excess of the rather pessimistic expectations of most planters in the area, and he ventured to suggest that as soon as the planters of Alabama had cleared all the land they needed for the cultivation of cotton, they would be able to raise profitably all the wheat they might need or want. He also noted that lands which had been properly ditched, drained, and terraced "increased at least

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them, covering the years 1840-1842 and 1882-1884, are in the University of Alabama Library, University, Alabama. Two additional volumes, covering the years 1889-1890 and 1891-1892, are in the Wellborn Papers. A fifth volume, for the years 1876-1877, is in the possession of the writer, having been graciously loaned to him by Dent's great granddaughter, Mrs. Julia Wellborn Daugette, of Huntsville, Alabama. Hereinafter the plantation journals will be cited as Dent Journal, with the appropriate years given in each case.

<sup>6</sup>Dent Journal, 1840-1842, fly-leaf.

<sup>7</sup>John H. Dent to Thomas Ewbank, November 5, 1849, in **Report of the Commissioner of Patents** (US 31st Cong., 1 Sess., 1849-1850, Senate Doc. 15 (Washington, 1850), Pt. 2, 148-149.

twenty-five per cent in their production.”<sup>8</sup> To the Agricultural Society of Barbour County he recommended the establishment of a monthly magazine for the promotion of experimental farming and husbandry.<sup>9</sup>

Dent's cotton crops prospered even more than he had hoped. In 1840 his plantation produced 125,377 pounds which brought a clear profit of \$2,017.31. In the following year poundage and profit both increased, the latter to \$3,551.03.<sup>10</sup> This success made him ambitious to expand his holdings. In October, 1841, he traded “Good Hope” for the much larger “True Blue” plantation,<sup>11</sup> “1,080 acres, more or less, at \$15 per acre, causing the boot in favor of W[iley] Oliver of \$6,000.” But this bargain soon proved to be a costly mistake. As he later wrote, the trade “enthralled me in debt which took me nine years to work out so that I was forced to deny myself all pleasures and comforts to extricate myself from embarrassment and threatening ruin.” “Credit,” he added bitterly, “is the curse of the world. It is usury. Like a moth that eats into our goods, day and night, it keeps eating, never stopping until cancelled. Debt makes one a slave. It is the parent of trouble, distress, and ruin.”<sup>12</sup>

From this experience Dent learned a valuable lesson. He never again went into debt, and he became extremely cautious in his handling of financial affairs, a practice which enabled him to salvage a considerable portion of his fortune after the Civil War and to enter the Reconstruction period not only financially solvent, but comparatively wealthy.

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<sup>8</sup>John H. Dent to Edmund Burke, November 3, 1847, *ibid.*, (U.S. 30th Cong., 1 Sess., 1847-1848, House Doc. 54 (Washington, 1848), 387-389.

<sup>9</sup>Dent Journal, 1840-1842, 111-113. See also W. Stanley Hoole (ed.), “Advice To An Overseer: Extracts From The 1840-1842 Plantation Journal of John Horry Dent,” in *The Alabama Review*, I (January, 1948), 50-63.

<sup>10</sup>Dent Journal, 1840-1842, 14;39;16.

<sup>11</sup>“True Blue” was located about four miles “down the creek” from “Good Hope.” Dent Sketch, 4. See also Dent Journal, 1840-1842, 157; 161; 256.

<sup>12</sup>Quotations from Dent Sketch, 4-5.



In 1850, as soon as he had finished paying off the indebtedness on "True Blue," Dent sold the plantation to John McNab of Eufaula, hired out his slaves on a share crop basis, and for three months visited old friends in South Carolina. Upon his return to Barbour County he re-purchased "Good Hope," plus an additional adjoining 640 acre tract, which gave him, altogether, an estate of about 1,140 acres—for which he paid cash.<sup>13</sup>

For a time fortune smiled. His cotton crops for the years 1851 and 1852 were extremely good, netting large profits. But the summer of 1853 brought financial loss and personal tragedy. An epidemic of fever<sup>14</sup> first carried off thirteen of his slaves, and then Mrs. Dent, leaving him "with eight helpless children on my hands without a mother's care and guidance."<sup>15</sup>

Disconsolate, Dent disposed of "Good Hope," rented out his slaves again, and moved to nearby Clayton. There, in July, 1854, he married Miss Fanny Whipple, a native of Richmond, Vermont, who had come South to teach school. Later in the year he purchased the so-called "Old Major DeWitt Plantation" on Barbour Creek, about six miles from Eufaula.<sup>16</sup> In the plantation home thereon (which Dent named "Bleak House") he lived with his family until December, 1866.

There is no known record of Dent's activities between 1854 and 1859, although it is almost certain that he prospered. His land was good, the late 1850's were excellent cotton years, and Dent was a fine plantation manager. Certainly in 1859 he was ready to expand, for in that year he accompanied his son-in-law, Maximilian B. Wellborn,<sup>17</sup> on a land prospecting trip through Arkansas and Texas. Wellborn purchased a plantation near Lewisville, Arkansas, but apparently Dent found nothing to his liking. He returned to Alabama and soon after-

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<sup>13</sup>**Ibid.**

<sup>14</sup>Probably Yellow Fever.

<sup>15</sup>Quoted in Dent Sketch, 5.

<sup>16</sup>Introduction to Dent Journal, 1876-1877. The DeWitt plantation appears to have been about the same size as the enlarged "Good Hope." Eufaula, original'y called Irwinton, was given its present name in May, 1844. Walker, **Barbour County**, 125.

<sup>17</sup>Maximilian B. Wellborn, son of Dr. and Mrs. Levi T. Wellborn, of Eufaula, married Emma Julia ("Minna") Dent.

ward went to Mississippi to investigate lands in the Yazoo country. While the fertility of the soil there impressed him, he stated that it was a "sickley" region, noting that on every mantelpiece, planter's or dirt farmer's, there were containers of whisky and quinine as "part of the daily diet."<sup>18</sup> Again he returned to Barbour County without acquiring any additional property. Then the political crisis of 1860 put an end to his land speculation.

I think that Breckinridge is daily losing ground, and [that] the fatal mistake with the Democratic Party was in ever making war with Douglas—who was the great break water between us and the abolitionist tide—he kept back its surges as no other man could have, and in losing him, onward and rapid will be its flow upon us.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, he welcomed secession. When his daughter wrote from Arkansas accusing him of sympathizing too much with the North, he replied:

Before the South Seceded or Acted in her defense, I did admire the North, and why—because she had shown her superiority at the expense of Southern submission and degredation. But since the South has acted, Seceded, and declared her independence, I now appreciate, honor and love her [more than ever before] . . . She now stands in the estimation of all enlightened nations, honorable and honored.<sup>20</sup>

Too old for active field service, Dent worked in Barbour County with the Confederate Conscription Bureau, but devoted most of his time to his plantation, raising grain crops rather than cotton. In 1866 he noted, rather ruefully:

Had I farmed as was my custom, raising my usual amount of cotton, as too many people did, my four years crops of cotton could have been a fortune to me after the

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<sup>18</sup>Dent Sketch, 6.

<sup>19</sup>Ms. letter, John H. Dent to M. B. Wellborn, August 28, 1860. In Wellborn Papers.

<sup>20</sup>Ms. letter, John H. Dent to "Minna," August 22, 1861. *Ibid.*

war. But I did as our Government requested the farmers to do, raising provision crops to support our armies in the field as well as to maintain the families of those in the war.<sup>21</sup>

When the collapse of the Confederacy brought the world of the ante-bellum planter crashing down in ruin, Dent managed to survive. His investment in slaves (he had 120 able-bodied hands in 1865) was wiped out, but he still had his land and, apparently, he had saved a considerable portion of his pre-war cash profits. Lack of a labor force, however, constituted a major problem. By the spring of 1866 only seven former slaves remained on the plantation. Undaunted, Dent hired those seven to work for him on a shares basis, secured the services of an overseer, and planted anyway — cotton. Although he grumbled that his hands gave him constant trouble, and wrote snapishly in his journal that the crop was “only half tended,” his yield was excellent. After paying all expenses, including the crushing cotton tax of three cents per pound imposed by the Federal government, he cleared \$5,000 cash profit.<sup>22</sup>

But Dent was businessman enough to realize that he could not continue to operate a large plantation with such an undependable and indifferent labor force, and, as he wrote later, he desired to get away from the “low country” where there were so many Negroes, including a number of his ex-slaves.<sup>23</sup> With extraordinary luck he found a buyer, one E. B. Morris, who could and would pay cash for the plantation, and the

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<sup>21</sup>Quoted in Dent Sketch, 6. Two of his sons fought for the Confederacy, John Horry, Jr., who had followed in his grandfather's footsteps as an officer in the United States Navy, resigned his commission to enter the Confederate naval service in 1861. Assigned to a blockade runner, he died of Yellow Fever while aboard his ship at Wilmington, North Carolina, in July, 1864. The other son, John Herbert, left the University of Alabama in 1861 to join a battery of artillery then being raised in Eufaula, and served with it until the surrender of the Army of Tennessee in April, 1865.

<sup>22</sup>Dent Sketch, 6-7.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.* Concerning his former slaves, Dent wrote that he had “spoiled them and they were no good.” Quoted in Walker, **Barbour County**, 107.

transaction was completed by December, 1866.<sup>24</sup> In the same month Dent purchased a 400-acre farm near Cave Springs, Floyd County, Georgia, for \$12,000 cash. After this purchase his cash assets, including his savings, his profits from the 1866 cotton crop, and the money received from the sale of his plantation, were reported to have been \$238,000. On December 16, 1866, he moved his family to "Refugee Cottage," as he named the Georgia home, and began a new life as a farmer rather than as a planter.<sup>25</sup>

During the following year he endeavored to turn his 400 acres into the kind of progressive farm that he thought would be profitable under the new conditions forced on the South, but he found that labor was just as much a problem in the Piedmont region of Georgia as it had been in the Black Belt of Alabama. In his journal he wrote:

My intention in moving to the up country was to become a grain, grass, and stock farmer and have nothing to do with cotton, but I found that the Negro at that time was not suited nor willing at that kind of farming. Cotton was on his brain, and cotton was the crop they wished to work at, and white labor was equally unreliable. In short, all labor was thoroughly demoralized just after the war. Where there is a will there is generally a way, and feeling some doubts about the grass and stock parts of it, I gradually concluded it would be the safest and surest to fall back into my old accustomed ruts of grain, cotton, and hogs and let grass and stock slide. It was a sensible conclusion, for I soon discovered that grass pastures on those red clay hills would never be worth anything unless it rained frequently throughout the spring and summer.<sup>26</sup>

With the assistance of a handful of Negro share-croppers he managed to get his farm under cultivation, but the chaotic conditions of the country, political and economic, disturbed him. In March, 1867, he wrote his son-in-law, Max, who had returned to Alabama after three years' service in the Confederate armies

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<sup>24</sup>Introduction to Dent Journal, 1876-1877.

<sup>25</sup>Dent Sketch, 7-8.

<sup>26</sup>Quoted *ibid.*

of the Trans-Mississippi, a letter which gives considerable insight into Dent's view of those troubled times:

In the present political state of the country every one and everything is so uncertain, perplexed, and dispondent—property is depreciated—and no man will invest—as such I consider those lands of yours unsaleable at any price . . . Should the troubles of the country be adjusted, no matter how, so as one can feel only safe, they may then be sold . . . The great subject now is “Sherman's Bill” which I hope will be accepted by the proscribed Southern States, for it is that Bill or anarchy—that Bill, or worse—it is a bitter cup to draw—one not of our choice but one of compulsion—life or death. Any thing, any measures, but anarchy among us—reject it State Governments. State laws and State protection is gone—and on its ruins arises a band of desperadoes that will inaugurate a reign of terror, and every respectable man will have to flee the country a beggar to save the lives of himself and family—hence it is the Bill or utter ruin.

I do not look upon this Bill in the same light as many others do, who predict all kinds of calamities as likely to befall the South from it, for ever since the surrender of Lee we have been under military rule, with headquarters at Nashville and Genl Thomas as Dictator. It will be no worse now, under Johnson's veto overruled in Congress. More than three fourths of the white people (of the South) are entitled to vote under this Sherman Bill, and they will control the Negro vote—we will gain some 15 members in Congress by Negro suffrage. I dislike to have so many of our ablest men disqualified from holding Federal or State offices—But it is impossible to prevent it, and our policy is to reconstruct the States and terminate the infernal agitation which paralyzes the whole and generates discord among ourselves . . . our future fate rests upon the action of the South on this Bill—such is my deliberate opinion and conviction.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ms. letter, John H. Dent to M. B. Wellborn, March 31, 1867. In Wellborn Papers.



Under the Sherman Bill, or the first Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867,<sup>28</sup> Georgia, like all her sister states of the Confederacy except Tennessee, was placed under military rule until a civil government could be established in accordance with the provisions of the act. After a succession of military commanders, John Pope, George G. Meade, and Alfred Terry; after the turbulence and corruption of Rufus B. Bullock's radical regime; and after Ku Klux violence and Federal reprisals all over the state,<sup>29</sup> Dent was forced to conclude that things were worse than they had been under General Thomas immediately following the war. He later referred to John Sherman, sponsor of the Sherman Bill, by name as one of the "political rascals and thieves that was in power (who) stole right and left,"<sup>30</sup> and on July 4, 1876, he noted in his journal:

Independence day of 1776 But Despotic day of 1876—  
and so it will continue as long as the radicals are in power.  
The Independence and Liberty of the United States as  
inaugurated by the founders of the United States in 1776—  
ceased in 1860 by the election of Lincoln President.<sup>31</sup>

Dent's role in politics in those critical days appears to have been limited primarily to that of an observer. Although he noted in detail all elections, local, state, and national, and although he was a loyal member of the Cave Springs Democratic Club, there is no mention in his journal of his actually casting a ballot between 1866 and 1876. It is possible that he did not apply for a restoration of his voting rights, which as an ex-Confederate worth well over \$20,000 he had lost automatically under the Johnson plan of Reconstruction, or that he volun-

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<sup>28</sup>For the text of the Sherman Bill see Henry Steele Commager (ed) **Documents of American History**. Third Edition (New York, 1943), Pt. 2, 30-31. See also John Sherman, **John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet**. 2 vols. (Chicago, 1895, II, 369-373.

<sup>29</sup>For a survey of social, economic, and political conditions in Georgia during Reconstruction see E. Merton Coulter, **A Short History of Georgia** (Chapel Hill, 1933), 329-359. See also Stanley F. Horn, **Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871**, (Boston, 1939, 168-189.

<sup>30</sup>Dent Journal, 1882-1884, 282.

<sup>31</sup>Dent Journal, 1876-1877, 70.

tarily remained away from the polls to avoid the rowdy elements which congregated there. But he was an avid observer. He viewed the Presidential and Congressional elections of 1876 as "the most exciting . . . ever had in the U. States as the contest is to rescue the Government from the radicals, that have been in power for sixteen years, and whose power has been spent in corruption and plundering the people."<sup>32</sup> He was horrified when his district elected William H. Felton, whom Dent called "An Independent Disorganizer . . . supported by Radicals and Niggers,"<sup>33</sup> to Congress, and when he learned that the Hayes-Tilden election was a deadlock. He was even more distressed when the Radicals, in their effort to elect Hayes, moved to throw out the votes of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. "Since those States," he wrote, "are filled with troops by order of Gen Grant, and the South is powerless to help herself, so it must be determined by the North, whether such fraud shall be allowed to alter the choice of the people." And he added pessimistically, "We are firmly on the road which was the end of all republics."<sup>34</sup> He was a bit premature in this judgment, but he was not to alter it until the election of Grover Cleveland in 1884.

Almost all of Dent's efforts during the Reconstruction era, however, were devoted to making his farm, like his former plantations, self-sufficient and profitable. In the former endeavor he was most successful. In addition to cotton, he raised wheat, corn, and his usual cover crops of oats and rye which doubled as feed for his livestock. Availing himself of free garden seed offered by the United States Bureau of Agriculture, he produced in his garden virtually every vegetable that could be grown in Georgia—entering in his journal meticulous notes as to the progress and desirability of each.<sup>35</sup> He caustically criticized the "stupidity" of most Southern farmers who clung tenaciously to single crop of cotton while complaining in 1876 that it was not possible to make a profit on the staple which cost a minimum of 12c per pound to raise, while on the English market it would bring only 9c per pound after the

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<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 22; 27; 65; 121.

import duties were paid. "That is admitted," wrote Dent, "where the farmers do not raise their own food supplies, but buy all they use." If they would do so, he pointed out, cotton could be raised for 8c per pound, provided the lands were carefully fertilized. "Indeed," he said, "I look upon the low price of cotton as the best thing that can happen for the Southern farmers, as it will force them into raising their own food supplies and make them pursue a diversified system of farming."<sup>36</sup>

Throughout Reconstruction Dent retained his avid interest in scientific agriculture. In 1873 he joined the Cave Springs Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry and for a time served it as "Worthy Overseer." It is," he wrote his daughter, "a great organization if strictly lived up to and carried out—I only fear that the politicians will work themselves into it. If so the Serpent that destroyed Eden will destroy the Grange."<sup>37</sup> It was not to the politicians that his grange succumbed, however, but rather to apathy and to the Baptist Church. When the latter began holding prayer meetings on Grange night, most of the Cave Springs Grangers, preferring Heaven to earth, went to the services. In 1876 Dent sadly noted that "The Grange is about played out."<sup>38</sup>

Not all of his farm experiments were successful. An attempt at the scientific breeding of sheep was his waterloo. In February, 1876, he complained that the sheep refused to touch the oats he had planted for them and were devouring his wheat crop instead. A few days later he wrote dismally, "No lambs as yet. I never saw them so backward in having lambs before."<sup>39</sup> But this was one of his very few failures.

Making a profit, however, was difficult. Labor remained a problem, for his share-croppers tended to be transients. They would remain on the farm for a year or two, learn his methods, make one good crop, and depart to squander their earnings.

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<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>37</sup>Ms. letter, John H. Dent to "Minna," July 27, 1873. In Wellborn Papers.

<sup>38</sup>Dent Journal, 1876-1877, 11; 30; 111.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 21; 22.

He would then have to teach those who took their places, only to have the process repeated. Consequently, Dent had a very low opinion of the freedman. "Satisfy the wants of today," he wrote, "and he stops work—they don't look for tomorrow, hence they live by the day, and must and will continue a poor and wretched race of dependent people."<sup>40</sup> He stated that he would surely find hired labor much more profitable than share-cropping, if only his health were good enough to enable him personally to supervise the work. But since it was not, and not even "Collins Voltaic Electric Plasters" seemed to help, he would have to continue to farm on shares.<sup>41</sup>

At times he became discouraged. Once he stated that if he could only recall ten years of his life he would go West,<sup>42</sup> but gradually some profit began to come in. There were luxuries at Refugee Cottage (now called "Cottage Home"), such as an organ from St. Louis, a piano from Boston, and a handsome monument for the grave of the second Mrs. Dent who died in 1875.<sup>43</sup> In 1876 he bought two-thirds interest in a milling company for \$3,000, and was able to give each of his children a cash gift of \$4,000 when they married.<sup>44</sup> On January 1, 1877, he took inventory of his real property and valued it at \$11,886, but noted that by the standards of 1866, before the steady appreciation of the dollar, the same property would have been worth \$20,000.<sup>45</sup>

So Dent stood at the end of the Reconstruction period, still solvent, in comfortable circumstances, owing no man. If he were not the wealthy slave-owning planter of the ante-bellum days, he was still a man of property and substance. Where many of his class had failed to meet the test of the times, he had successfully made the transition from the Old South to the New.

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<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 147-149; 32.

<sup>42</sup>Dent Journal, 1882-1884, 282.

<sup>43</sup>Dent Journal, 1876-1877, 3; 89; 38-39. Dent married again in 1876. His third wife was the former Elizabeth Anne Dowd, of Edgefield, South Carolina.

<sup>44</sup>Dent Journal, 1876-1877, 171; Dent Sketch, 8.

<sup>45</sup>Dent Journal, 1876-1877, 171.

A SKETCH OF 12 MONTHS SERVICE IN  
THE MOBILE RIFLE CO.

by

*An Unidentified Member*

The above Corps having tendered their services to the Confederate government, received orders on the night of the 23rd of April 1861 to leave on the first boat for Montgomery, en-route for the seat of war in Virginia, in accordance with these orders the Company left on the Le Grande on Wednesday the 24th at 5 P. M. the following is a correct roll of company as mustered for 12 months service

Capt. L. T. Woodruff

1st Lieut. J. C. Marrast

2d Lieut. J. Weedon

3d Lieut. J. K. Adams

*Drummer I. Baumer*

1st Sergt. \_\_\_\_\_

2d Sergt. J. Daily

3d Sergt. W. A. Geaudreau

4th Sergt. J. K. Hoyt

5th Sergt. J. W. Goodwin

1st. Corp. W. G. Smith

2d. Corp. J. D. Fowler

Privates

A. L. Aubert

W. T. Atkins

M. C. Butt

J. Bryant

H. Burton

J. C. Bailey

J. V. Childress

E. Crowder

\*This material, a really valuable contribution to the story of Co. I, 3rd Ala. Inf. Regt., came to the Department in the settlement of the estate of Sidney Lee LeVergy, who died age 91, Dec. 12, 1859. It was given to us by Mrs. Orville Lay, Alabama Chairman of Historical Activities, National Society of Colonial Dames. In view of the fact that there are no archival rosters of the Third Alabama Infantry in the files, it is historically interesting. Louis T. Woodruff, Captain, Company I, 3d Alabama Infantry Regiment, carried this outfit into the war.



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|--------------------|-------------------|
| J. H. Colburn      | C. Labuzan Jr.    |
| E. Campbell        | T. Lecesne Jr.    |
| D. D. Child        | W. H. Lavender    |
| C. C. Collier      | J. I. Lake        |
| W. W. Cherry       | G. F. Lathrop     |
| W. D. Crawford     | A. C. McGuire     |
| C. H. Clark        | Jas Manning       |
| T. E. Cooper       | P. L. Maybrey     |
| G. H. Dunlap Jr    | R. W. Mayrant     |
| H. Donaldson       | B. Mc. R. Mosby   |
| R. F. DeBell       | E. C. Mosby Jr.   |
| J. G. Dawson       | R. A. Mounelle    |
| G. G. Duffee       | J. F. Moore       |
| J. N. Eskridge     | W. M. McDonald    |
| J. H. Evans        | S. A. Neville     |
| W. L. Ellis        | W. J. O'Brien     |
| F. Foster          | A. Parker         |
| W. H. Gardner      | A. M. Punch       |
| W. P. Gassam       | J. B. Post        |
| W. B. Grist        | C. H. Pope        |
| J. P. Gould        | S. H. Pairo       |
| L. H. Goodman      | W. H. Powers      |
| W. M. Garrow       | W. B. Robeson     |
| G. Goodloe         | B. F. Roper       |
| W. H. H. Greenwood | C. A. Ryder       |
| R. H. Haughton     | A. E. Smoot       |
| T. Henry Jr        | G. F. Simonton Jr |
| J. C. Hodges Jr    | T. M. Smith       |
| F. S. Hutchinson   | F. C. Singletery  |
| C. Harwell         | J. H. Skinner     |
| J. DeV. Innerarity | W. H. Sullivan    |
| I. W. Innerarity   | H. Swain Jr.      |
| J. M. Jenks        | A. S. Thompson    |
| G. F. Johnston     | J. S. Thompson    |
| W. M. Jones        | D. S. Taylor      |
| R. B. Jordan       | J. H. Taylor      |
| J. A. Jackson      | J. Vidmer         |
| J. H. Keith        | I. S. Williams    |
| W. J. Kelly        | R. H. Williams    |
| J. Lyon            | B. S. Woodcock    |
| W. E. Loper        | D. H. Williamson  |

C. W. Watkins  
C. C. Whitehurst

H. F. Wilson  
I. J. Yates

in all 94 privates 6 noncommissioner & 4 commissioned officers (total 104) all the above with the exception of Sergts. Geaudreau & Goodwin (who joined us in a few days) marched as before stated

*April 26th*—Reached Montgomery at 6 P. M. Capt. Cloudis would not permit us to land until we had partaken of a fine supper which he had prepared for us—before we marched from the wharf the “Boys” gave three hearty cheers for Capt. Cloudis officers who had all shown us every kindness during the trip—we were quartered in Estelle Hall for the night

*27th*—Marched to the fair grounds & took up our quarters in the same building  
in which the Cadets & Washington Lt. Infantry were already quartered

*28th Sunday*—The following companies

Co. A—Mobile Cadets—Capt. R. M. Sands  
Co. B—Gulf City Guards—Capt. Hartwell  
Co. C—Tuskegee Lt. Infty.—Capt. Swanson  
Co. D—Southern Rifles—Capt. Powell  
Co. E—Washington Lt. Infty.—Capt. Gracie  
Co. F—Metropolitan Gds.—Capt. Hunter  
Co. G—Montgy. True Blues—Capt. Andrews  
Co. H—Beauregard-Lowndes—Capt. Bonham  
Co. J—Wetumpka Lt. Gds.—Capt. Reedy  
Co. K—Mobile Rifles—Capt. L. T. Woodruff

having all concentrated here & been organized into the 3rd Regmt of Ala—proceeded to elect field officers with the following result

for Colonel—Jones M. Withers of Mobile  
for Lt. Col.—Tennant B. Lomax of Montgy.  
for Major—Cullin A. Battle of Tuskegee

in the evening our Co. & the Mobile Cadets were served with 3 days cooked rations & ordered to leave by the morning train

*29th*—Left in the cars at 8 A. M. for Lynchburg Va. the Cadets by some means got left behind, the enthusiasm of the people particularly the Ladies was unbounded—crowds were at every station who welcomed the “Boys” as if all had been old friends—showering boquets upon us making us presents of cakes, sweetmeats, etc while even gray hairs uncovered, in honor to the chivalry of the south & prayed an earnest blessing upon us & a hope that we might return in safety to our homes & friends

*30th*—Nearing Knoxville Tennessee and some rumors of our passage being disputed—as we were the *first* Southern Company to cross the borders of the Seceeded States—we were ordered to load our Rifles & be in readiness for an attack the “Boys” were determined to go through—Some malignant looks were bestowed upon us but beyond this we met no hostility, and I think a good many of us were disappointed about 4 o’clock P. M. reached Bristol on the Va. line & here the enthusiasm & signs of welcome revived — for although Virginia had not been declared out of the Union by the popular vote still there was no doubt she soon would be — the Southern Flag — Emblem of Freedom — floated from almost every conspicuous place — being detained here in consequence of the now — arrival of some Kentucky troops who were expected —the Citizens tendered our Company a supper — which was most welcome — as we had been travelling steadily for 36 hours, & had eaten nothing warm since we left Montgomery, while marching to supper, we passed a very pretty little girl of some 12 or 13 years who wore a very handsome apron in the design of a Confederate flag—we saluted her with three hearty cheers — after supper we took our respective places in the cars — ready to proceed the moment the expcted train should arrive, it did not reach Bristol however until about 3 A. M. & just at dawn we were again in motion for—as we fondly hoped—the seat of War—this day

*May 1st*—passed through some very beautiful portions of Virginia & reached Lynchburg truly named the City of the Hills—on

*May 2d*—at 3:30 A. M. The Kentuckians some 600 in number a fine looking body of men but without arms or uniform pre-

ceeded us to the fair grounds about a mile from the city & which were allotted to us for camp grounds about half an hour after they had left—our Company was formed and proceeded in the same direction as our late friends—the trim & soldierly appearance of our men showed to a decided advantage, as also did our compact & well drilled ranks in the march, in contrast with the straggley & careless movements of the Kentuckians and as I afterwards learnt we were the first body of *armed Southern troops* who had marched through the streets of Lynchburg—it is not to be wondered at if the excitement & enthusiasm was almost beyond bounds—a large number of the citizens accompanied us to our encampment, which was selected in an oak grove in the rear of the Fair grounds & about 1 mile from the city—the Ky's were already in possession of a portion of the fair grounds—all the stalls in which had been converted into rude sleeping places for soldiers—upon reaching the site of our intended camp.—Stack arms & unsling knapsacks was followed by orders for the company to divide in Squads & prepare the ground for pitching our tents—all was in readiness by the time our tents & baggage arrived & each mess taking charge of their respective "Houses" in a few moments all were awaiting the word of command — at "Raise tents" they all went up as if by magic & so the pleased & wondering spectators seemed to imagine it was, in the mean time other parties were building fires, the commissary stores were served out & in almost as short time as it takes to write it the lonely wood was converted into a gay & lively yet orderly camp, the "Boys" flying around & cracking jokes with each other & our citizen companions who were fast becoming firm friends they evidently imagined the Alabama boys to be "Some" & I firmly believe that never in the memory of the citizens of Lynchburg will be forgotten or recalled but with pleasure, thoughts of the Mobile Rifles encampment in that city—I never hope to see again such a general & heartfelt outburst of enthusiasm nor such a wholesouled welcome as we met from all rich & poor, young & old — fair sex & stern sex of the city of Lynchburg—truly if kindness could have killed, then had the minutes of the Rifles been numbered

3d—The Cadets & W. L. I reached here

*4th*—The whole regiment being now here we were drawn up under arms & formally mustered into the service of the C. S. A.

*7th*—received orders to leave in the morning for Norfolk Va—

*8th*—turned out about 3 A. M. struck tents & marched to the south side R. R. by which we (the entire regiment) were carried to Petersburg which we reached about 6 P. M. here the enthusiasm was even greater than at Lynchburg the Depot was crowded to excess by the citizens & numbers of ladies, all of whom welcomed us with smiles & cheers & entered freely into conversation with the "Boys" we were detained here to partake of a supper which had been prepared for us, when we again went forward in the same cars and reached Norfolk about open field in the suburbs where we encamped

*9th*—4 A. M. & proceeded about a mile from the Depot, to an open field in the suburbs where we encamped

For some time everything went on as usual—crowds visit us every evening at dress parade—Col. J. M. Withers paid the regiment his first official visit while we remained in this camp—the Boys are already very much dissatisfied with him

*About 12th*—An unfortunate occurrence took place while we remained here, the precise date of which I neglected to observe. I missed the accidental shooting of Lt Storrs of the Wetumpka Lt Infty. by private Wm Hunt of the Gulf City Gds—who was a sentinel on duty at the time he was tried by court martial who turned the case over to the civil authorities by whom he was honorably acquitted

*15th*—Visited Fort Norfolk & had a fine view of Elizabeth river—(my first) the fort is small but the batteries are well mounted the upper had 12

8 in Columbiads & Dahlgreens guns Ea—Barbeth & the water battery some small guns, case mats—

*17th*—Recd. orders to march in the morning—understand it is only a change of location for our encampment



18th—Marched to our new camp ground which is some 2 miles from the city almost due East—on the Princess Anne road & on the head of Tanners Creek between the head waters of which & Broad Creek an intrenchment is to be thrown up for the protection of Norfolk & the Navy Yard—hence our removal to this point—we are informed that this is the post of “*honor*” & of “*danger*”

19th—during the day heard the reports of some heavy guns, in the direction of the river—could not learn the cause

20th—Learnt that the firing yesterday was between the Monticello a federal steamer & our battery at Sewalls Pt 6 men supposed to be killed on Steamer no loss at the battery—Hurra! Hurra

22d—The line of the proposed intrenchment having been laid off by J. W. Goodwin who was detached from our Co. for that purpose—we have been ordered to prepare a camp ground on the extreme right of the line—with our right resting in Broad Creek & Goodwin having staked off the new position today the first squad was detailed & commenced the work of clearing off the ground, which is thickly covered with timber principally pine—squad reports new ground a very pretty site for an encampment

25th—The companies on the right of our regiment commenced moving to our new camp—this morning—

26th Sunday—about noon we were all ready, as last Co. to leave for the other camp which we found to be distant by the road about a mile & three quarters although not more than a mile from us in a direct line on the way we passed a portion of the intrenchment which is being rapidly thrown up—some 200 Negroes being engaged upon the work

June 1st—Having the camp & parade ground thoroughly cleared off—our field officers Lomax & Battle have commenced drilling their different command in Battalion drill every morning & evening—Every day we hear the booming of heavy guns on the river caused by trivial engagements between our batteries

& the Federal vessels in the Hampton Roads—but no serious fighting threatens here that I can learn

4th—At “Tattoo” a detail was called for to act as picket guard & was promptly filled by “volunteers” the boys not knowing the country or our true position imagined they might possibly meet with some of the enemy—when in fact they were only required to watch the Negroes at the intrenchment—it was wet dirty weather & they returned towards morning—wet muddy weary & disappointed

5th—Counted about 60 reports of guns in the river about 7 A. M. learnt afterwards that the “Harriet Lane” & our battery at Pigs Point had passed compliments with each other & the steamer had been badly used in the melee

10th—McCambridge, Setchwell & Getty reached here today—intending to join our Co.—Camp life is terrible monotonous but is relieved occasionally by the reports of heavy guns from our river batteries & other opponents—each discharge — being echoed by the “Boys” by a wild unearthly sounding yell signifying their desire to “*take a hand*” & when the excitement cools off they generally amuse themselves by cursing both loudly & deeply the unfortunate position we are compelled to occupy & where they swear the enemy nor any one else “*will ever find us*”

June 11th—About sunset received official news of a fight at Bethel Church, some 5 or 6 miles distant from Hampton, where the Confederates under Magruder had whipped the Yankees 3 to 1—the boys from each company in succession gave three hearty cheers for the South and her gallant defenders—

20th—McCambridge, Setchwell & Getty elected members of the Rifle Co.

21st—Pickens & McKerrell—elected

22d—Formed mess No. 13 under the name of “Wild Cat Mess” with the following members Geaudreau, Setchwell, Baumer, Getty, McCambridge, Taylor & Ryder Mc C & I went to the city—for supplies

*23d Sunday*—No 13 engaged in putting tent in order & fixing up—Capt Goodwin paid us a visit in full uniform—makes fine looking officer

*24th*—At retreat Major Bradford Inspt Genl gave the whole regiment a thorough inspection and passed many flattering encomiums upon their appearance &c

*June 26*—Boys busy clearing up parade ground and extending it. Burns of Cadets goes to Mobile today on furlough, sent letters by him

*27th*—Raising our tent & fixing for wet weather

*28th*—On guard, Lance Corpl—raining—rumor of 5 U. S. Ships lying off Lynnhaven

*30th Sunday*—Monthly inspection of regmt by Col. Lomax who said the Mobile Rifles kept the handsomest stand of arms he ever saw

*July 2d*—Heavy firing during the morning at intervals, Dr. Nott of Mobile visited our camp today and witnessed dress parade a beautiful comet showed tonight in the N. W. Heavens—almost overhead

*3d*—At Guard mounting this morning an incident occurred which tends to shew the deep love of home existing in each mans breast, unspoken but fervent we were saluted by the unusual but most welcome strains of a brass band, at sound of the first notes, a general rush was made for the parade ground, which was soon thronged with eager listeners, who seemed delighted by the almost forgotten harmony—after the guard had marched in review, and when changed to “quick march” the band struck up “Dixie”, as the well known notes floated upon the air, reviving old associations and familiar scenes hallowed, and consecrated by the sweetest recollections of memory, it was greeted by a *shout of joy*, which seemed to burst spontaneously from the assembled crowd, and then *three hearty cheers* for the *South* rung out upon the air for a moment drowning even the melody in their depth and volume

8th—I received notice that I had been detached by Col. Withers, and ordered to report at headquarters, on reporting found he required me to prepare a map of the country in our immediate vicinity for his use, as commander of the 2d Brigade, I was very glad he selected me for this work as I much wished to get such a map myself

July 9th—I was furnished with Maps and instruments and commenced a compilation

12th—Today Col. Withers received his Comm. of Brigadier General and the name of his command, was changed from the 1st Va Forces to that of 2nd Brigade C. S. Forces, today also our Co received pay for 2 mns & 7 days \$24.56

15th—I visited Sewalls point and the battery, had a most beautiful view of Hampton Roads, the Chesapeake and Fortress Monroe, with the Rip Raps and the enemy's fleet lying off them, at 4 P. M. Lt Smith & Rast were tried for cutting some of the Norfolk boys in a row a few days ago, after a great deal of hard swearing and every attempt being made to fix the shooting upon Lt Smith at 9 P. M. the Major decided that Lt S should give bail, for his appearance before the city court to answer the charge, in the sum of \$500—Rast was remanded to jail although bail was freely offered for him these sentences created a good deal of indignation amongst the "Boys" as nothing had been proved against them, a rescue of Rast was determined on, to be led by Capt. Hunter, but Col Lomax hearing of it ordered us to desist, Capt. H. however gave the *Court* his *opinion* of the case, as it stood

17th—Gen Huger reviewed the whole Brigade at the Fair grounds about 3000 infantry troops

23d—The greatest excitement prevailed in the regiment, particularly in the Rifle Co. on learning the brutal murder of Lt Adams of our Co, in the streets of Norfolk this day, by a citizen, the guards were doubled around camp and every precaution taken to prevent the men from going into the city as loud and deep threats of vengeance were uttered by all, the murdered

officer having been deservedly a great and universal favorite—order at length prevailed and the murder was left in the charge of the *law* but not as the sequel proved, of *justice*

24th—Lt Adams' body sent home in charge of Vidmer—Genl W & Goodwin on a reconnoissance along the Bay coast

25th—Genl W & Goodwin returned, Geaudreau ran the lines & went to the city

26th—In camp last night had an alarm drums beat the *long roll* and the regmt formed in the parade ground in 7 minutes from the first tap—*Geaudreau* absent

31st—Election of field officers in camp result Lomax Col. Battle Lt. Col., Major could not be decided on

Aug. 2—Goodwin & myself started on a survey of the neighboring country and roads, took the Princess Anne road from the intrenchment, reached Kempsville at 11 A. M. Stopped at Jas. Garrisons until 2.30 P. M. made a fresh start and took the Hollands road, reached the Court house of P. A. County at 7.15 P. M. we put up at Callums tavern

3d—On leaving Callums, he learning our business, would not receive any money from us, although he had shewed us every attention, we left Dr. Nay's corner at 6.45 A. M. taking the Pemgo road which we left on reaching Old's corner and turned northward on the road running parallel to the Atlantic Coast distant between 2 and 3 miles at 9.25 A. M. having proceeded about 6 miles we were stopped by a party of the Militia under command of H. Yateman and after several questions, and some consultation on their part, we were arrested Goodwin having no papers to shew his authority for making the survey, we were supposed to be "Yankees" and had created quite a sensation amongst the "*natives*", after some delay we were allowed to proceed with the survey to London bridge at which place we hoped to be able to prove ourselves on the right side, by some of Fentriss' Cavalry Co who were stationed near these and who knew us, Yateman went on before us



on horseback to apprise the cavalry of our coming, and we again proceeded but now under a *guard* for our friends would have it we were "*spies*" for the next 2 or 3 hours we created rather an unenviable notoriety as we passed along—Men, women & children gazing with anything but friendly looks at the Yankee Prisoners we reached the London bridge at 11.30 A. M. where we found Yateman and a squad of the "*Princess Anne*" cavalry with which he intended to have conducted us to Norfolk but three of them being acquainted with us we were relieved from our unpleasant position, and our late captors, wishing to shew their sense of the annoyance they had caused us, showered invitations of all kinds upon us, only *one* of which we accepted, which was to adjourn to the "spring" which we found on reaching it to be a most beautiful one, on the bank of the river and about 100 yards from the bridge, here we all seated ourselves, the day was warm and dusty & we fatigued with our long tramp, the cool water was delicious and judging from the number of times that a certain little black bottle made the "rounds" of the company, I think its contents must have also proved palatable and been like the wizards inexhaustible, joke, story & song whiled away the time pleasantly until 2 P. M. when we started for the road again and after many kind wishes from our new friends we bade them adieu and continued our survey, taking the road to Kempsville, we reached the corner of Hollands road and 5.05 P. M. having walked and surveyed about 20 miles of road each day, we got to Garrisons house about 5.45 P. M. where we stopped all night, and passed the pleasantest evening I have yet spent in Virginia, Mrs. G. making us feel quite at home, after supper Miss G. a beautiful and amiable young lady sang & played for our amusement until bedtime—indeed the whole family endeavored by every means in their power to make us welcome—we were tired and dusty after our 2 days tramp and the luxurious bed which we occupied was most refreshing

*4th*—Left Garrisons about 9 A. M. and took the road for camp—turned off at Haggard's road and crossed Broad Creek at his house—reached Camp at 11.30 A. M.

*7th*—Started on another Survey—took first road leading north

after passing the intrenchment by Colsons camp and Denbys' Church, then south by Indian Pole Bridge to Norfolk, in Camp by 12 M. Marrast & Weedon called at Head Qts to bid us good bye, they having resigned

*8th*—Goodwin gone to the city for Coast Surveys &c. for my use in compiling may—Lieut Higley leaves for Mobile today, he—having been elected Sheriff of Mobile Co.

*9th*—McCambridge & I went into the City heard Jack Goelet had arrived from Mobile & went out to camp—followed him out but could not see him, in the evg. went to the city with Aleck & Pritchard

*15th*—Goodwin having gone to camp to see Woodruff about election for Lieutenancy—Genl. W. brought G's commission as Major finding G gone, sent me on his own horse with the commission to G. as he wanted him to receive it before he decided with Capt. W.

*16th*—Goodwin has accepted Comm. as Major

*18th*—Went to the city met Murrell who introduced me to some ladies on Bermuda St

*22d*—Capt W. asked me to do one tour of duty and lanced me as Corporal, on guard in the city—McGilvrey & I dined at Mrs. Walk's having finished drawing at Headquarters I reported for duty at camp—

*26th*—At dress parade, orders were given to have 2 days "rations" issued and prepared and for the regiment to be in readiness to march at any moment—these orders were gladly received, and it was generally rumored that the enemy were preparing to land in the neighborhood of the Pleasure House.

*27th*—All the fuss about the Yankees landing yesterday, proved only a false alarm Jim Brickell & Reddy came out to camp to see us today—dined with the Railroad Mess

*31st*—General inspection and review at 7.30 A. M. also muster rolls read and approved

*Sept. 1st*—Walked along the intrenchment and took notes of bearings and of creeks &c

*2d*—Lance corporal, town detail—Sergt Patridge met Mr Wm Bray who introduced us to the Misses Phillips where we spent a pleasant evg.

*3d*—Had a splendid view of the city & adjacent country from the roof of the old Custom House, (our guard quarters) at sunrise rumor says the Yankees have a couple of floating batteries at Fortress Monroe and intend forcing a passage up the river to the city—at night noticed several signals shewn from the city and batteries, Capt. W. ordered us to be in readiness at a moments warning

*4th*—Jenks and Innerarity 1st having received notice of being elected Lieuts. in Mobile, procured discharges and leave for home to day.

*5th*—Ran the lines, and went over to Portsmouth, to get some notes from a county map of Norfolk Co. called at head quarters and found Goodwin laid up—his horse having fallen on him the previous evening and hurt his ankle, he told me he had been to Kempville and seen our friends, who had inquired very kindly after me, and invited us both down returned to camp, in company with Bray, in time for 1 O'clock roll call after dress parade—I borrowed some citizens clothes from Jack Goelet and ran the lines again, went into town and attended at the Concert given by the Amateur Minstrels of the 3d Ala. for the benefit of the Soldiers Aid Society found it very well patronized indeed the "Opera House" was crammed to its utmost capacity, by the Beauty and fashion of Norfolk and the surrounding country—the concert went off very well the Boys being often applauded "Averills" womans rights speech and Donaldsons—dance seeming to be the "hits" of the evening—I reached camp about 1 o'clock A. M. on the 6th

*6th*—Corporal W. was quite annoyed at so many of his "corps" having run away yesterday, I find myself and the others punished by being put on extra duty, as this is my *first offence*, (at least the first time I have been discovered)—I am detailed

for regimental police our duty for the day being "ditching" which I find is not very hard work particularly, when you do not exert yourself too much—Setchwell & McCambridge, in town, returned to camp in a good humor with the world at large, and from their account of the trip I should suppose they enjoyed themselves

*8th Sunday*—no inspection—raining

*10th*—To day an election was held in our company quarters, to fill the vacancies caused by the resignations of Lieuts Marrast & Weedon and the death of Lieut Adams, the following is the result W. G. Smith 1st Lieut, R. W. Mayrant 2d and Dr. D. D. Childs

3d—Wm. Ellis returned from Mobile to day and brought me some letters which I was very glad of

*11th*—At 2 P. M. I ran the lines, and went to Hd. Quarters—Goodwin still laid up he had engaged Mr Garrison and family to go with him and I to the 2d concert of the Amateurs of the 3d, which was the reason of my running away from camp, in about an hour Mr G. came along and Goodwin being unable to get up, I accompanied him and the ladies to town, and in the evening went to the concert with them, but must confess I was so much taken up with my amiable and interesting partner Miss G. as to pay but little attention to the performers, who however gave satisfaction as before, and realized for the Soldiers Aid Society, as the product of then two concerts something over \$1100.00 Dollars, when the performance concluded, I accompanied my charming partner home, and it seemed quite strange to me, now to be walking with a young and beautiful female, I could scarcely believe I was a Soldier on service, and far from home—after bidding the ladies good night Mr. G. took me around and introduced me to several of his acquaintances, all jolly good fellows after visiting at several houses and emptying sundry bottles of Champagne &c in pledges to each other and the fair sex in general, we bade good night, and I think I can safely say, this has been my pleasantest and merriest night in Old Virginia

*12th*—Up bright and early and after a good breakfast at the

“Atlantic” where I slept, started for camp, but on my way, I fell in with my fair partener of yesterday evening, and at her request I joined her in a promenade and visiting expedition suffice it to say I did not reach camp until 4 P. M.

13th—I am sent to the guard house for 24 hours imprisonment, as punishment for leaving camp without permission all I can say, is that for the same amount of pleasure I will willingly undergo the same penalty any time

14th—at 9 A. M. I was released from the guard house, and immediately ran the lines and went to the city where I expected to meet a certain young lady, but in which I was disappointed I saw Goodwin in town making preparations to go to Mobile, to which place Genl. Withers has been ordered

15th Sunday—Goodwin came and bid us all good bye—I find myself on guard to day, extra duty, part of my punishment for leaving camp without leave on the 11th I thought this rather heavy but had to put up with it, my going on the 14th was not discovered, and on the whole I consoled my self with the reflection, that I was the gainer by “*several trips*” *uncaught*, “so mote it be” at 9 P. M. “Tattoo” roll call Capt. W. appointed the following privates to be non-commissioned officers (our non-commissioned officers before this consisting of Daily 2d Sergt., Geaudreau 3d, Hoyt 4th) Hoyt 1st Sergt., Daily 2d, Geaudreau 3d, Evans 4th, Dunlap 5th, Lake 1st Corpl, Childress 2d, Gardner 3d, Crowder 4th, Daily immediately stepped from the ranks and tearing off his *stripes* he told Capt. W. that he would resign his office—this spirited conduct of his gave general satisfaction to the “Boys” as Daly had been slighted by the Capt by appointing Hoyt over him, he Daly being the oldest member in the company and fully qualified to fill the post indeed he had been acting orderly nearly ever since we left Mobile

16th—Geaudreau also resigned, he had been on guard at headquarters, and as soon as he learnt how things stood he followed Daily’s lead, I ran the lines on coming off guard, saw Mrs & Miss G—and gave them Goodwins message who started for Mobile this morning



*17th*—I was ordered to report to Col. Lomax at his quarters on doing so I found he required a map such as I had projected for Genl. Withers and on telling him I could draw him a copy he excused me from all duty, to work on it—at “Tattoo” roll call on account of the resignations of Daily & Geaudreau Corpl. W made the following appointments Evans 2d Sergt., Dunlap 3d, Lake 4th, Ryder 5th, Childress 1st Corpl., Gardner 2d, Crowder 3d, Williams 4th—this appointment surprised no one more than myself, I had just been punished for my misdeemeanors, and why the Corporal should promote me I never could understand as I know he has heard me express very unfavorable opinions of him

*18th*—Bob Williams would not accept the 4th Corporalcy so we are yet without one

*21st*—Alex McCambridge arrived from St. Louis Mo. and joined our Company

*22d Sunday*—Raining—no inspection

*23d*—John Keith received his commission as 2d Lieut of the Cooper Rifles and started for Richmond—poor fellow he did not live either to enjoy his newly acquired honors or to do his country service—in a few days we received news of his illness, and almost immediately of his death—which cast a gloom over the whole company, he was “a fellow of infinite jest” and a general favorite—may the ruthless step of the invader n’e’er sully the grave of the gallant fellow

*27th*—Ran the lines, at 6 P. M. met Bray and called on the Phillips’, stopped all night at Brays’ and came out on

*28th*—Came out to camp at 12 M.

*29th*—In town on furlough—went to church with Bray and afterwards we went visiting called on Miss Dyer & Milles Phillips got back to camp at 6 P. M.

*Oct. 1st*—Finished map for Col. Lomax and gave it to him, and reported to the company for duty once

more—to day I commenced work on a map which I purpose presenting to Capt. Woodruff

*2d*—O'Brien having received news of his fathers dangerous illness, leaves today for Mobile on 20 days furlough

*3rd*—The "Corporal" set me to work to day, to draw a plan for our winter encampment, I learn from him my plan has been accepted by the Col. and adopted for our intended camp—on dress parade this evening we were startled by the cry of "fire", a bright column of flame shot upwards from amongst our "Canvass homes" but fortunately it was only accasioned by the burning of a temporary shelter erected for cooking purposes in the Gulf City Co's quarters and as it was quite calm, the fire was subdued without its reaching any of the tents or doing any further damage—a position for our Winter quarters has been selected, in the neighborhood of Mosleys Church, some four miles north and east of our present position

*6th*—On guard in the city—first duty as Sergeant, I went to church twice in the evening I called on the Phillips

*7th*—Saw Garrison and had a talk with him, Murrall & I called on the Hodges on our way to camp—one man from each company, was detailed to day to accompany the quarter master, to our intended encampment and lay it off in company grounds preparatory to the building of quarters—Col. Lomax left on furlough for Montgomery

*8th*—Blew very heavily all last night from N. N. E.—learn that a small boat had been blown ashore during the night, some where near our new encampment, and its occupants three "Yankees" and a negro man had been made prisoners by our working squad

*9th*—It rained so heavily last night that the guard was taken off and no new guard was mounted this morning for the same reason—about noon heard that one of the enemy's vessels had been stranded, during the gale, off the "Pleasure House". Capt.

Sands and a portion of his company have gone down there by order—and several of the “Boys” have gone “*without orders*” to see what they can see—later I heard the “Louisiana Gds.” with their “Battery” of light pieces had also been ordered down about 4 P. M. the quick and successive reports of ordnance, in the direction in which the vessel lies announced to us all that there was *something going on*, all hope if there is to be fun we will be allowed to take a hand—firing at intervals for about an hour, after which all was silent

10th—Learnt that the vessel, spoken of above was not aground as supposed, but lay too far from shore for our light guns to reach her, although several shots were fired to try their range, on hearing the firing the “Monticello”, one of the enemy’s steam gun boats, lying near Fortress Monroe at the time, came down to the assistance of the vessel and exchanged several shots with the Louisiana field battery—the storm had been gradually lulling during the day and as soon as practicable the steamer towed her consort beyond the reach of any danger

11th—I procured a 24 hour furlough and started for town, intending to go to a Ball, which, however, was postponed and I went visiting instead. I put up at the “National” but in consequence of the mad pranks of a party of the W. L. I. Boys during the night, to sleep was out of the question—

12th—I met young Webster today in the city—he went to camp along with me—to day is very cold—

13th Sunday—last night was very cold—to day is cool but pleasant

14th—The river batteries are having some amusement to day, have heard at intervals heavy firing in that direction—

15th—In town on furlough, I visited the Navy Yard, and witnessed the operation of rifling a 32 lb gun—there is much of interest to be seen here yet—notwithstanding the mutilated condition in which the Yanks left it, when they “*ran away*”

from it, but my limited time, would not allow me to examine all the details, I saw the "Merrimac" as she is rapidly being altered into a floating battery, from her hull, or what is left of it, as she is cut down to the water line, I should suppose she must have been a very beautiful vessel her bottom shews some of the finest lines I ever saw, she was lying in the dry dock which is a very fine one, in the river opposite the yard side the last remains of the old "Pensylvania," she was burnt by the Yankees before they left, several workmen were engaged with diving bells in removing portions of the submerged wreck, immediately north of the wreck lies moored the hull of the "United States" which is now used as a receiving ship, at one of the wharves lay another hull (the name of which I have forgotten) which the Yankees had also endeavored to destroy by fire, but which had been rescued with no other damage than the loss of the "upper works and a portion of the spar deck the "Yard" and everything connected with it had evidently been kept in the most beautiful order by its late owners several hundred men are at present busily occupied in it every day in various works appertaining to war and its necessities, I noticed two fine Ship-Houses in the Yard these and a great number of other buildings, such as ordnance department, blacksmiths, carpenters &c shops boat houses, spar houses, timber houses &c and stables seemed to have escaped any injury during the fire, the stables, the floor of which is some three or four steps elevated from the ground, are decidedly the cleanest and best arranged I have ever been in, The Commanders house is also a very pretty comfortable, building and is pleasantly situated, having a fine view of the river—in the rear of this house under the wall of the yard, it was pierced for guns and a strong battery of heavy Columbiads, seemed to be calmly and quietly overlooking the county in the vicinity, but it was the calmness and quietness of confidence in their ability to repel all attempts at intrusion from that quarter I spent a couple of hours here very pleasantly and left regretting I had not more time nor opportunities to see more of it—after dress parade, I ran the lines and went into the city again, to a ball which proved a grand "*Humbug*" Tom Mc and I interrupted Rutherford's "*tete a tete*" with "*Miss Annie*" and we all started for camp together which we reached about 1 A. M. it was a beau-

tiful night, bright moonlight but cold, and we had a pleasant walk

*16th*—The Mobile Rifles, Tuskegee Lt Infantry and the Southern Rifles, received orders to prepare for marching and to hold themselves in readiness to leave at a moments warning, two days provisions were served them and cooked, all their members on town guard and the working squad were called in, and things have a decidedly fighting look, rumor says our intended destination, is Roanoke Island—but for this we have nothing official—the picked companies are the envy of the regiment

*17th & 18th*—Expecting to receive marching orders every moment, towards evening of the 18th were notified we would not be moved at present—the “boys” were bitterly disappointed, but there is no help—

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Mem—the continuation of this diary until Feby 12th 1862 was left in Norfolk when our regiment moved—the writer not anticipating the evacuation of that city—neglected to bring it with him, others lost what nothing could replace, at least *to him*

*Thursday June 5th 1862*—This morning wind from N. threatens more rain, about 7 A. M. heavy firing (seemingly artillery) to the N. & W. of our position—(learn we captured some artillery & 1100 prisoners) firing lasted about 2 hours—5.30 P. M. our brigade ordered back to position of Saturday 31st—16th Va. left in intrenchments

*Friday June 6th*—*Very cold last night* rain occasionally—orders to move in morning—countermanded 12th N. C. rejoined our brigade—Dixie Eagles, reported

*Saturday June 7th*—Clear & warm—sunshine afternoon rained heavily. Jno Ellis returned from Mobile

*Sunday June 8th*—Warm but cloudy—artillery skirmish to N. & W. about 7 A. M. to 9 A. M.—orders, no one *allowed to leave*



*camp—at 12 M. moved forward to position of June 3rd, 4th, 5th, night very cold*

*Monday June 9th—Clear & cold wind N. artillery fight on our left about 10 A. M. (dispatch that Yuille & Jackson have whipped Fremont & Shields) 5 P. M. Regmt. received their tents & pitched them*

*Tuesday June 10th—8.30 A. M. Rifles go on picket, rained heavily all day—night clear, moonlight*

*Wednesday June 11th—Clear & war, Jackson victories confirmed—10,000 reinforcements sent here*

*Thursday June 12th—3 A. M. 5 Compys.*

*M. C.—G. C. G.—W. L. I.—W. L. G.—S. R.—sent off on a scouting party—warm & clear—scouts returned at 1 P. M.*

*Friday June 13th—4 A. M.—M. R.—M. G.—L. B. & some of 16th Va. on reconnoissance to discover enemy's line M. R. skirmishers found evening's pickets returned at 12. M warm & clear—roads getting in good order—artillery firing A. C. Parker recd. commission as Captain in Commissary deptmt.*

*Saturday June 14th—The G. C. G. & part of W. L. I.—skirmishing, shot 2 yanks & brought in 1 prisoner Co. drill & bath, do ordered also dress parade none held weather warm & clear—ground drying rapidly—details from each regiment in our brigade to work on battery intrenchments below us—work all night 10 P. M. Pryor's & Wilcox's brigades passed to our right to support Stewarts Cavalry—(wagons prisoners & trains)*

*Sunday June 15th—Warm & clear—The brigades above returned today at 7 A. M. all right saw Wm Sterling—W. L. I, Co skirmishing, left at 3 A.M. 2 P..M. ordered to move forward, heavy thunderstorm—move postponed—9 A.M. our brigade ordered forward—went outside the pickets & lay there all night, wind N. & very cold*

*Monday June 16th—Clear but cold wind N. at 10 A. M. our brigade returned to camp, at day light a brisk, picket skirmish on our left—scouts yesterday*

evg. reported the Yankees left, as advancing in force—hence the cause of our right movement

*Tuesday June 17th*—I am on working squad at battery—Harwell exchanged—Vidmer visits us our regiment transferred to Rhode's brigade, Hill's divn. & ordered to move next morning—much dissatisfaction

*Wednesday June 18th*—Warm & clear—officers object to transfer—moved to Hills divn at 12 M *on sick list*—dress parade—ordered to the front to repel Yankee advance—brigade & regmtl drills—2 prisoners—regmt retd in 2 hours

*Thursday June 19th*—drills heavy rain last night *today warm & clear*—regmt paid off to May 1st \$81.19 news recd of Lomax being alive, prisoner in Baltimore 11 A. M. Brigade formed & moved to front—false alarm A. McCambridge & Powers visit camp—1 P. M. second alarm *on sick list*

*Friday June 20th*—Warm & clear, brigade & regimental drills—on sick list—Duffie & Singletery visit us

*Saturday June 21st*—Warm & clear—Jordan's name appears in list of prisoners at Fort Monroe—McDonald & J. Moore are also reported there (doubtful) Geo Dunlap elected 3d Lieut—brigade working on intrenchments—retd about 2 P. M. dress parade

*Sunday June 22d*—Warm & clear, police & inspection—heavy firing on the front last night *on sick list*  
firing last night proved to be a private fight between the 2 Battns of the 16th Va. who were skirmishing mistook each other for Yankees

*Monday June 23d*—Warm & clear forward movement ordered yesterday, *on sick list*, countermanded D. Langdon, leaves for Mobile—on sick list—5 P. M. alarm—brigade forms line of battle (I report for duty) retd to camp in about  $\frac{3}{4}$  hours, heavy thunder storm in night

*Tuesday June 24th*—Cool & cloudy, threatens rain roads in dreadful condition yesterday Jackson rumored at Hanover C.

H. & to day a grand attack was to be made by our forces—suppose the weather will postpone it, 6 P.M. Ransom's brigade N. C. troops from, Petersburg moved past us to the front part of Holmes' division—heavy thunderstorm

*Wednesday June 25th*—Wind N. very cold bright & clear, heavy skirmishing in front—10 A. M. our brigade ordered to the front into line of battle ret'd about noon at 3 P.M. ordered front again—proceeded farther than before & supported battery—ret'd at dark—3 days rations served

*Thursday June 26th*—2 A. M. regmt formed & moved at 3 A.M. in company with the entire division round to the north of the city (about 7 miles) & formed in line of battle about 6 A.M.—At 6 P.M. ordered forward—(A. P. Hill was now attacking their right flank) and in about an hour crossed the Chickahommy. Genl Hill having driven them east of the bridge bivouaced on the field, Yates shot himself in the hand the Yanks falling back

*Friday June 27th*—at day break, moved forw'd the Yanks still falling back about 9 A.M. 7 miles from Richmond formed junction with *Jackson* who was driving the enemy before him, continued advancing until about 4 P. M. when the enemy shewed fight which raged incessantly until after dark—we bivouaced on the field—W. Cherry killed in our Co.—

*Saturday June 28*—our division put in the advance, some slight skirmishing but no fighting of consequence—I believe the enemy retreat slowly Stewarts cavalry destroy several mile of York R. R. the weather up to the time has been clear, dry, & very warm—tonight threatens rain bivouaced about 3 miles in advance of our position last night—W. L. I. Co on picket.

*Sunday June 29th*—at 6 A.M. made a change of front—I am in detail for skirmishers—moved into the swamp in front relieved at sunset, (McGruder fighting in advance)

*Monday June 30th*—about 2 A.M.

our division moved off—in the advance recrossed the *White Oak run*—the Yankees retreating—reached Boars' bottom about

3 P.M. the Yanks across the creek—bridge destroyed—under a severe fire of shells until after dark—the Yanks skedadled in the night

*Tuesday July 1st*—Moved forward about 6 A.M. Yanks made a stand about 1 P. M. in a very strong position—maneuvering for a flank movement—Yanks shelling us all the time—our brigade charged their battery of 60 pieces about 4 P.M. but were not properly supported & could not take it, remained on the field in front of it under a galling fire until dark—Regiment went to the field 357 strong—lost killed 32, wounded 143 missing 30—remainder left unhurt 152 total killed wounded &c 205—Mobile Rifles went into fight as follows, with 28 men all told

1 Lieut Lake	15 Inerrarity—mort woud. 7
2 Lieut Dunlap	16 Jones—wounded 8
3 Sergt Traylor—wounded 1	17 Keeler—wounded 9
4 Corpl Treat—killed 1	18 Lecesne—wounded 10
5 McGuire—wounded 2	19 E. C. Mosby—wounded 11
6 Aubert	20 McR Mosby—wounded 12
7 Atkinson	21 Mabry
8 Bryant	22 Mabry
9 Buford—wounded 3	23 Punch—wounded 13
10 Collier	24 Ryder
11 Clark—wounded 4	25 Sisemore
12 Dunlap (2)	26 Taylor
13 Hunter—wounded 5	27 Williams
14 Howard—wounded 6	28 Young—wounded 14

Total number engaged 28—killed 1—wounded 14—balance left 13—our forces occupied the battle field tho Yanks retreating during the night—brought Hunter & Jones off the field & stopped about 1 mile distant 12 M

*Wednesday July 2d*—our division forming at the church—carried Buford to the hospital—rained heavily all day—saw poor Jack today mortally wounded division moved to the rear about 1½ miles & camped—Gun Boats shelling

*Thursday July 3rd*—Rained all night, today cloudy but dry—saw Jack before I left—he can't live—Bryant, Atkinson, Mabin, Goodloe, Aubert, Williams, Sisemore & myself carried E. C.

Mosby to the R Rd Depot about 9 mile distant reached there at dark & left him with Goodloe—Inerarrity died today returned to the spring and camped—Tom Smith joined Co today

*Friday July 4th*—Breakfasted & returned to camp—found the brigade in the same position—weather dry & warm—sun shining—J. Goelet died & was buried this morning—before I returned from the R. Rd visited his grave this evg—McDoughlin & Levy died today

*Saturday July 5th*—Warm & clear evg. visited the battle field of Tuesday & also Treats grave—McCambridge, Getty, Hutchinson, Gardner, Kelly joined us—Yanks 12 miles in front

*Sunday July 6th*—Warm & clear—evg visited J. Goelets grave sermon by Col Gordon

*Monday July 7th*—moved about 2 miles to the S. E. for better water—warmest day of season

*Tuesday July 8th*—Burton joined the Co warm & clear—Rhodes joined the Brigade

*Wednesday July 9th*—2 A.M. ordered to be ready to march at 4 A.M. regmt formed at 4 A.M. waiting orders—11 A.M. Battn, drill by order Genl. R & roll calls—guard posted—rumor we act as rear guard to protect Longstreet, forces which are falling back—3 P.M. moved to the rear 7 P.M. halted at hill above Board bottom & camped

*Thursday July 10th*—3 A.M. division under arms—& moving to the rear Rhodes brigade left to hold the road & bridge, as rear guard—at 4 P. M. moved on—raining heavily & continued during the night—reached “Seven Pines” at 7 P.M. halted—continued our march—halted at same position left on June 26th & camped a little to the E. upon the hill our tents furnished us—Charles Keeler died today

*Friday July 11th*—Capt Hoyt joined us & Punch & engaged in pitching tents & forming camp—cloudy but dry—dress parade



Charles Clarke died today—heard of Dan Williamisons death, which took place on Tuesday July 8th

*Saturday July 12th*—Warm & clear—drills—by order Genl Hill—Daughrill joined us again also several of our sick boys—Col Battle leaves on a 30 day furlough—dress parade Hills orders about furlough

*Sunday July 14th*—Warm & clear—regimental inspection—boys went to Seven Pines & identified several graves, amongst them Setchwell & Lomax's Blogg preaches—drills — parades  
*Monday July 14th*—Warm & clear Rhode's orders & *water details*—heard of Sullivans death—Tom Atkinson visits Castle Godwin

*Tuesday July 15th*—General wash day by order—no drills—warm & clear heavy thunder storm this evg—no parade—young Rouse in Richmond—(expect he has run away from home)

1862

*Feby. 12th*—2 P.M.—the "Long roll" suddenly reverbating through camp, sent the blood rushing with maddening velocity, through the viens of all within hearing, quickening the pulses & stirring into activity the sluggish movements which had become almost characteristic among us—in a few moments the companies began to make their appearance on the parade ground in complete marching order, the Rifles were the *first in line*, orders were read to us, to the effect, that 2 days rations would be served, which we were to have cooked and prepare for marching

*13th*—Excitement almost gone, at dress parade orders for marching in the morning at day light were read, & general preparations were again made—destination understood to be Blackwater or Suffolk on the S. & R. R Rd. at 10 P.M. the baggage train was loaded with our tents & cooking apparatus & started for the city

*14th*—3 A. M. "Reveille" beat & after a scant & hasty breakfast the regiment fell

in on the parade ground, at dawn the order was given, "Battalion right face" "countermarch by file left" "march" and we were in motion, on passing the troops inside the intrenchment we were loudly cheered, and on our ride through the city bright eyes smiled upon us and fair hands waved fond adieus, which made many a heart beat faster neath its soldiers jacket, at the ferry there was considerable delay in crossing, and the men were obliged to stand with their knapsacks on for about 2 hours, which was more fatiguing than the march, on crossing, instead of getting on the cars and going to Suffolk as supposed, we were marched out to the suburbs about 11½ miles to the old quarters of the North Carolinians, and there quartered, cannot learn what future distination of the regiment is intended, our present quarters are miserable, being dirty and incommodious 3 cabins only for each camp and making it necessary for 32 men to live [in] each, we were dismissed about 3 P [M]

9 P.M. it now commenced raining heavily in about ½ an hour I started for the city and crossed to Norfolk in company with Jack we dined at Myers and did full justice to our fare, as we had eaten nothing since morning, Jack being unwell returned to camp. I went to see Bray & took supper with him, after he & I & Whitehurst went to see the Phillip's who were rather astonished at seeing me, stayed with Bray all night

15th—Missed the first boat at the ferry & did not reach camp until after roll call but McC. had reported me sick so I passed, raining all day, which did not add to the pleasure of our uncomfortable position

16th Sunday—I am detailed for guard I got off as 2d Sergt—Copl W. officer of day in afternoon heard cheering news from Fort Donaldson—I had nothing to eat, so slept most of the day, after retreat Jack & I started for Portsmouth took supper at the "Ocean house" and afterward called at

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just in time for Jack to miss roll call since we have been here there has been about an average of one third of the regiment in town all the time rumor tonight that we will be ordered back to our old quarters

17th—The day passed very disagreeably, raining almost incessantly, rumor today that one battalion is to remain here & the other to go forward another rumor says the entire regiment is to be moved to the late quarters of the 3d Georgia near the Navy Yd. understand that Col. Lomax objected to the regiment being divided on which he was informed, that other wise it would be obliged to return to its old quarters

18th—Today the weather shows some signs of clearing off about 9 A. M. the sun made a feeble attempt to shine, Corpl. W told off 3 squads of men of 10 each whom he allowed to leave camp accompanied by a sergeant, 2 hours each, I went with squad absent from 1-2 P.M. we went to the Navy Yd. where we found the Merrimac or Virginia afloat 8 guns mounted & her crew busily engaged in mounting the others & putting stores aboard from her appearance I should judge it would require at least 3 days to complete her equipment & prepare her for service, on leaving the yard we strolled through town & so on way back to camp visited the moveable battery which is a reflex 32 ft gun mounted upon a flat car prepared for the purpose & intended to be moved on the rail road should the Feds get possession of it at any point scarcely anything but Alabama boys were to be seen in the streets of Portsmouth and they were quite [unservicable] this evening there was a regimental dress parade and it was really laughable to hear repo[rts] of the orderlies, they made Lomax smile all colonel though he be, after dress parade [Corpl] W told us that we would move either tomorrow or the day after *certain*. Jack & I took a trip to the city this evening, called on the Miss Collins' and passed quite a pleasant hour the young ladies favored us with some music & singing & we reluctantly took leave of them just in time to reach camp for roll call

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all night and every prospect of continuing to day so that it is not probable the regiment will move today at dress parade L. H. Jones (W. L. I.) sentence was read, he was cashiered

20th—The weather cleared during the night & this morning the sun shone out bright & clear, we received orders to move back to our old camp which orders were almost immediately countermanded better accounts today from Fort Donaldson

*21st*—Weather continues fine, although we have received no orders, still a general impression prevails that the regiment will be moved tomorrow, I went to town & dined at Macon House appeared in dress parade, took supper at the Ocean House, in camp at "Tattoo" after that Jack & I went to see Miss Hume, had a gay time & started for camp about 11 P.M. on our way out the bells in Norfolk gave the alarm of fire, & in a few moments the whole scene was illuminated by the flames, met several of the boys going to see the fire, it proved to be Reid's bakery

*22nd 9 A.M.*—A courier has just arrived and orders are again given to prepare for leaving at a moments notice. This afternoon I received a check for my pay & got permission to leave camp, Jack & I went to Norfolk & dined, we visited Billy Bray & I went up & got some clean clothes we reached camp about 10 P.M.

*23d Sunday*—I started for town in the morning got a bath & went to church. I missed 1 o'clock roll call but the Corporal had given so many permission to visit the city that he had forgotten who they were & he imagined he had allowed me to go so I escaped any punishment I dined at the Atlantic, reached camp in time for dress parade & then went to Portsmouth again to meet C. Porter who introduced me at his uncle John Porters house, here I met Miss C & Miss A. Porter, both very nice young ladies, I took tea with them & afterwards passed quite an agreeable evening until about 10 P.M. when I started for camp

*24th*—Breakfasted at Macon House in the afternoon I was detailed with a squad of men to move the Hospital Stores, when I got through I started for Portsmouth & called on the Misses Porter I reached camp about 6.30 P.M. after "Tattoo" Jack & I went to Portsmouth & called on the Misses Collins, returned to camp about 11.30 P.M.

*25th*—Jack & I breakfasted at Ocean House went to camp for company drill after drill 20 men 1 commissioned & 2 noncommissioned officers were detailed from each company, & ordered to go into Norfolk to arrest run aways I was in the squad from our company and returned to camp about 2 P.M. bringing Punch, Taylor, Harwell, Hutchinson, Haughton, Smoot with us

the Corporal made them put on Knapsack & accoutrements & turned them over to Sergt Lake to drill, Battalion drill for the first today Forsyth took charge of the second & Battle of the first, F marched the second along the rail road into the city & drilled it through the streets, we got back to camp just in time for dress parade, after "Tattoo" I went to Norfolk to the "Ladies Fair" for the benefit of the Norfolk Volunteers, I did not meet any of acquaintances there, reached camp at 12 P.M.

*26th*—Last night was bitterly cold, this morning find a heavy frost lying upon the ground, Genl. Blanchard appeared at Battalion drill, & put the entire regiment through skirmish drill, rained tonight

*27th*—Weather cleared again, *Evans left today* in the evening I went into town with some of the W. L. I. to look for a ball which was to be given there, found one at Ocean House, but did not dance any

*28th*—Regimental Muster & inspection, our Boys turned out in fine order considering the weather and our mode of living for some time past, Col. Lomax complimented us on our creditable appearance, Norfolk, Portsmouth & adjacent country within a circle of 10 miles declared under military law, finished chimney on the cabin appropriated to our mess & no 8 moved its quarters this evg on dress parade orders were read, requiring drills, guard, & all other duty to be performed by the men in complete marching order, fully equipped with knapsacks & all accoutrements on

*March 1st*—The Wetumpka L. Gd. mounted guard this morning fully equipped & in marching order according to orders read yesterday evening No. 8 had the first decent meal this morning at breakfast, since we left our old quarters Corpl W. took the "Rifles into the city this morning equipped in complete marching order & put them through the skirmish drill, their fine military appearance drew many flattering encomiums from the citizens at Battalion drill Forsyth took the 2d Batn. & marched them to Pinner's point & back. I got out of this by being sent to town with a couple of men to arrest run aways



*2d Sunday*—Wet & disagreeable day after retreat Mess no 8 being entirely out of rations, started for Portsmouth & took supper at the Macon House, I afterwards called at Mr. Porters & after spending quite a pleasant evening, I reached camp at 12 P.M.

*3d*—damp & foggy morning, no Compy. drill Heard of the Nashvilles arrival at Remfort N.C. a large gun passed over the road this morning said to be intended for the Nashville After retreat Jack & I took a walk to the city stopped at the Macon House reached at camp at "Tattoo", it rained & blew very heavily during the night & almost drove us out of our shanty as rain & wind both penetrated freely

*4th*—Find several of the tents that the boys had erected, blown down through the night the wind veered to N. W. by W. & the air had grown bitterly cold, see some ice this morning Corpl. W. took the Rifles into the city for drill, the Cadets also went in, Battalion drill this evening consisted of a march to Naval Hospital & back by the 2d Batl. in complete marching order, at dress parade Col. Lomax informed the officers that the 2d Battalion would move tomorrow & quarter at Camp "*Hard times*", learn upon inquiring that this is in the neighborhood of the Navy Yard I went to Portsmouth after supper & paid a visit at Mr Ps returned to camp about 11.30 P.M.

*5th*—After guard mounting the 2d Battalion was formed & marched over to the camp lately occupied by the 3d Georgians & situated in rear of the Navy

Yd. our route made the distance about 3 miles, but as the day was dry & cool the march was not disagreeable although the men were heavily loaded, at 3½ P.M. Corpl. W gave me permission to go to Portsmouth to buy some eatables for the mess, I took a direct line & made the Ocean House about 1½ miles from our present quarters, after retreat I ran the lines for the purpose of showing Goodloe & Jackson the short route to town we made the trip to town & back all right & reached Camp in time for "Tattoo" roll call

*6th*—The Rifles are on guard today one half the Co. being detailed for that purpose, day fine, clear, & rather warm, "Boys"

busily engaged in fixing up quarters at "Retreat" the heavens had clouded over & about half an hour afterwards a *slow drizzling rain* commenced falling I forgot to mention that we found on reaching our present quarters, the cabins were very fair & in pretty good order, the regiment which had occupied them had evidently been moved in a hurry I had left behind them a great many of their cooking utensils & sundry other conveniences, which we found very acceptable, as nearly all of ours had been left by us at Mosleys Church the Camp is badly located being in a swamp & the very lowest place in it at that, which causes it to be almost uninhabitable in wet weather *Snowed about 1 inch deep tonight*

7th—Corpl W & I found a couple of fine Yankee tents, which the Georgians had captured at Chicamacomico we spread them to dry as they were nearly ruined, Lt W. G. Smith resigned, as he has received a commission to raise a Compy

8th—The "Marrimac" or "Virginia", went down the river today & soon we heard her guns in quick succession, learnt afternoon that she attacked the Cumberland & Congress frigates sinking the former & disabling the latter compelling the crew to abandon her our first dress parade this evg. Vidmer acty Sergt. Major, I ran the lines Corpl Sprout & went to the city, here I fell in with the guards who arrested me but afterwards turned me loose telling me to go at once to camp, I instead proceeded to M. P.'s, where I passed a very pleasant evening with the young ladies and enjoyed some fine singing by them, started for camp at 9.30 P.M. & kept a bright look out for the patrol, arrived in camp all O. K. On my way to camp I saw the reflection in the northern heavens, caused by the burning of the Congress, at about 12 P.M. this vessel blew up, the report, was so loud in our camp as to wake me out of a sound sleep

9th Sunday—In town on furlough the 2d Battalion led by Corpl W. marched some distance below Pinner's Point today I went to Church, after service walked home with Miss C. P., dined at the Macon, saw the "Patrick Henry" & "James Town" accompanied by the gunboats come up the river & also the Virginia return, the wharves were crowded & the vessels were

saluted with hearty cheers in which the ladies, who were out in number

joined, the weather for the past few days has been beautiful clear & dry but cool the nights moonlight & magnificent, this morning a heavy white frost lay upon the ground

*10th*—One half of our Company are detailed for guard, I am on the detail

*12th*—I am cook of the week

*13th*—in the evening commenced raining

*14*—This morning damp & foggy but the rain has ceased, understood our Co. go to Portsmouth tonight as Provost Marshall guard, *later*, find we have received orders to return to our old quarters at Mosley's Church *the 1st Battalion is moving today, we expect to move tomorrow*

*15th*—About 1 P. M. the second Battalion took up the line of march for Mosley's Ch.—crossed the ferry in the Wm. Selden & reached Camp about 5 P.M. the roads were very bad

*16th Sunday*—last night the weather cleared off & the night was beautiful this morning fine but threatens rain

*17th*—The weather has cleared off, cold, wind from N. today commenced drilling regularly according to orders yesterday evening, *one Co. drill & two Battalion drills daily*

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after dress parade I went to the city, found there was no guard on tonight in town called at Mr. P's & spent a pleasant evg. bid the young ladies good-bye on leaving as I will have but few chances of seeing them for the future, camp being to distant

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*19th*—Ten men were detailed from each Co. today at 1 P. M. & under command of Lt. Wilson went off to endeavor to capture a Yankee spy who was reported to be secreted in a swamp some 3 miles distant they returned at dress parade having taken a negro a companion of the spy but he himself escaped—Genl.

Huger was in camp today, enquiring, about the reenlisting of the regiment, the excitement runs high tonight several from nearly all the companies are joining Woodruff

23d Sunday—Corpl. W gave the Compy a thorough inspection today

24th—W. Grice, leaves today on 30 days furlough, he having authority to raise a company for the war

25th—Lt Williams leaves to day on 20 days furlough for the same purpose this evg. on dress parade orders were read prohibiting the reenlistment of men in any regiment, except for the purpose of reorganising said regiments

26th—Lt. Smith leaves to day, also for the purpose of raising a company the usual morning drills were dispensed with, by order, and the whole regiment was detailed for "police" duty, the entire Camp inside the lines received a thorough cleaning—Jeff. Davis is looked for in Norfolk to day—in the afternoon there was light fall of snow, which turned to rain

27th—This morning is cold, wind from N. not a cloud in the sky, promises fine weather Davis did not arrive in Norfolk yesterday. Jack & I took a long walk, on the banks of Little Creek & had some pistol practice firing at wild ducks—at dress parade Col. Lomax made us a speech (and a very characteristic one it was) in reference to reenlisting he struck the right moment, & spoke the proper words, & the excitement ran high, in about an hour the entire regiment formed on the parade ground, without commissioned officers & headed by the band proceeded to the Colonels tent & gave him three hearty cheers, he responded in a few appropriate remarks & so did Battle & Forsyth when called on, after them a call was made for Woodruff & continued until he was brought from his quarters & spoke for a few moments, several of the other officers were called for & spoke then Col. Battle proposed we should sing "*Maryland*" & the men retire, in a moment the Anthem of Liberty rose upon the still night air. swelled by a hundred voices into a paeon of triumph after the song the band struck up the popular southern tune of "*Dixie*" & the boys dispersed

29th—Some 30 of the Rifles were today sworn in for 2 years service by Col. Battle 10 men from other Companies were also sworn in on our muster roll, a small beginning

30th Sunday—Cold and wet no inspection

Aprl 9th—In town on furlough in the evg called at Phillips' stayed with Bray

10—Got my furlough extended met Jim Donaldson & got introduced to the Boys of Aid Fire Co No 1. had quite a time in their engine house, did not return to camp as the Merrimac goes down tomorrow

11th—Donaldson & I went down to Tanners Creek to see the fun met Capt Ludlow who accompanied us, had an oyster fry on the beach & returned to town in the evg. no fighting in the roads today our feet captured two brgs & a schooner belonging to the enemy

12th—Jim went to camp but as I had overstayed my furlough I determined to stay as long as possible went up on Hawk & had some fun stayed there until 9 P. M. talking to Inda

13th—Sunday—after breakfast I started for camp—reached there at 11 A. M.

14th—I am cook of the week in our mess the Corpl. did not put me under arrest but he preferred charges against me

16th—I was tried today by Court Martial, Capt. Reedy, Lieuts Simpson & Murray—plead guilty, at dress parade, I heard my sentence, *reduced to the ranks* approved by Col. Lomax the Richmond papers of today publish the *Conscript Law* which has just passed the boys are very much excited about it

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Apl 6th Sunday—Jack & I started on a tour of inspection of the neighboring country, took the road leading to the Pleasure House & then followed the beach to Lynnhaven river which is a very pretty sheet of water here we camped & eat dinner in



view of Garrisons house, on the river there was a gang of wild geese in number not less than 300 & also numbers of wild ducks, on our way back to camp we started up some others on the bank of a creek & also some gray squirrels but having no guns they only *tantalized us, reached camp at 5 P. M.*

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*Saturday Apl. 26th*

Wind N. N. E. cold, raining heavily—N. Orleans 24th 2 gun boats passed Ft. Jackson—Memphis 11th, Genl. Price with his division & Van Dorn's, arrived enroute for Corinth—rain continued all day—no drills nor parades—morning police

*Sunday 27th*—6 A. M. wind N. N. E. cold, cloudy, no inspection nor dress parade, occasional showers

*Monday 28th Apl.*—6 A. M. wind N. N. E. cold cloudy 1 P. M. wind E. sun out, dry. 2 Bat drills & dress parade official dispatch, evacuation of N. Orleans 24th Yankees in possession

*Tuesday 29*—6 A. M. wind S.—Co & Bat Drill. 1 P. M. wind N. E. cold & cloudy—turned to rain—9 P. M. cold but clear

*Wednesday 30th*—6 A. M. wind E. N. E. cold & cloudy inspection & muster at 4 P. M. at 8.30 P. M. Dixie Eagles arrived—received dispatch Fall of Ft. Macon on 25th

*May 1st Thursday*—6 A. M. wind S. S. W. warm & foggy election of compy. officers, with result, Woodruff, Hoyt, Lake & Gardner — no drills — “Lomax Sharpshooters” organised—“Blues” disbanded & reorganised into artillery—dress parade

*Friday May 2d*—6 A. M. wind S. S. W.—warm & clear Co drill—Fight at Cumberland Gap, Kirby Smith repulsed Morgan on the 28th Apl—2 Bat drills & dress parade—night moonlight dry a warm wind from S. W.—lightning in N. horison

*Saturday May 3d*—5.30 A. M. wind S. by W. warm & clear—9 A. M. received marching orders—12 M election of field officers—result Lomax, Battle & Forsyth all reelected—3 P. M. Baggage commenced moving no drills or parade—for past week heavy firing on the peninsula night & day — very heavy firing tonight

*Sunday 4th May*—waiting orders to move—cold

*Monday 5th May*—at 2 A. M. Reveille—Line formed at 3.30 A. M. & immediately moved off—Raining heavily wind S. W. chilly—Mahone furnished transportation on N. & P. R. R. reached Suffolk at 8.30 A. M.—rained all day—tolerable quarters

*Tuesday 6th May*—5.30 A. M.—wind N. clear weather—non-commnd officers appointed—Dunlap, Donaldson, Duffy, Childress & Taylor as sergts—Crowder, Treat, Smoot & McGuire corporals—Geaudreau, Parker, Vidmer, & I drill the “Eagles” by order 12 M wind N. W. clear sunshine but cold—all sick soldiers ordered from here & Norfolk to Petersburg

*Wednesday 7th May*—5.30 A. M. wind W. N. W. clear & warm—8 A. M. received marching orders, about 12 M. left on S. & R. R. for Weldon, reached there at 7.30 P. M.—our first “Bivouac”

*Thursday 8th May*—5.30 A. M. wind E. by S. warm & clear the Rifles pitched tents—dress parade

*Friday 9th May*—Trains running constantly with passengers & stores soldiers &c from Norfolk—weather fine 2 Comps 24th N. C. regmt & 1/2 the battery of the Petersburg Artillery arrived & stationed here—dress parade

*Saturday 10th May*—weather still very fine & warm Norfolk entered by the Yankees to day—Rumored attack on Ft. Morgan, no particulars—dress parade

*Sunday 11 May*—Fine dry & warm—wind south

*Monday 12th May*—1st La. Regmt arrived at 9 A. M. 6th Va arrived at 2 A. M. & left at 11 A. M. en route for Petersburg 3 P. M. we were ordered to prepare for marching

*Tuesday 13th May*—at 10 A. M. 1st Battn. left for Psburg 2nd Batn, left at 4.30 P. M. reached Psburg at 11 P. M.—church

*Wednesday 14th May*—Camped at Dumis hill—5 P. M. received marching orders—Regmt in line at 11 P. M.

*Thursday 15th May*—2 A. M. Regmt left for Drury's Bluff—at 10 A. M. the Rifles followed—no tents or baggage carried—reached D's Bluff at 12 M the battery fighting the Monitor, Galouse & 3 other gun boats—we in rear of battery saw shells fired, 4 men in battery killed & some wounded—in about an hour boats hauled off—busy getting 7 in Rifle gun up the bluff—bivouaced in the woods  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from river *raining heavily*

*Friday 16 May*—Still raining—at sunset cleared off—our brigade lay in the woods all day

*Saturday 17th May*—warm & clear—12 M the pickets report Gun boats ascending the river, Mobile Rifles ordered to the bluffs to occupy the “rifle pits”—working in rifle pits

*Sunday 18th May*—Enemy's boats not coming up—7 A. M. working on rifle pits—10 A. M. we are relieved to report at camp—“*Woodruff's farewell*”, Fitz Ripley's visit about 3 P. M. Capt. W. bade the “*Boys*” good bye, & left us to join Smith's regiment in Ala. 136th of which he is now Lt. Col—may he have every success & prosperity in his new command—by this we lose an officer whom no one can ever replace—dress parade Lomax Sharpshooters furnished with 80 English Enfield Muskets  
*Monday 19th May*—At 12 M. Cherry & I started for Richmond, back at 6 P. M.—moved our position to Willis farm where we are again furnished tents—*Vicksburg taken*

*Tuesday 20th May*—very warm—dress parade

*Wednesday 21st May*—Still warm—Keeler & Stikney from 12th Ala. Regmt. in camp—dress parade & drills

*Thursday 22d May*—very warm—cook—drills twice 1 P. M. commenced raining—rained an hour—blew heavily & turned over several tents

*Friday 23d May*—very warm—2 compy drills—evy Brigade drill, 4 Regmts by Genl. Mabrn

*Saturday 24th May*—5 A. M. wind N—cool & cloudy afternoon Prim and others from Mobile to join the regiment

*Sunday 25th May*—Cool, clear, Getty & I foraging Co. K ordered on picket tomorrow—Brigade drill—3d not Blanchards brigade, 3d & 22d Ga. 1st La & N. C. battn & Capt Sands & several recruits arrived this evg.

Gerarde's battery arrived here only this morning—very cold night

*Monday 26th May*—Co K's picket order countermanded

*Tuesday 27 May*—Warm & clear 3.30 P. M. order to cook 3 days rations & prepare for marching—11 P. M. in line—marched to Halfway station—no trains for us

*Thursday 29th May*—3 A. M. Bivouaced—9 A. M. took cars for Richmond review on Grace St by Gov Letcher 2 P. M. halted in Capitol square—5.30 P. M. marched 2½ miles E. S. E. of the city & bivouaced—rained heavily all night

*Saturday 31st May*—dry but cloudy—11 A. M. arms inspected & ammunition served—about 1 P. M. firing to the E of us—3 P. M. line formed & moved forward about 2 miles to S. & E. & formed line of battle in a swamp—heavy firing a little to the east of us—at sunset the fight ceased we bivouaced in the swamp

*Sunday June 1st*—at daylight line formed & moved forward, passed over the battle field of the 31st & went to the front, about 8 A. M. went into action—the enemy supposed to be "Sickles"

"Sickles" brigade—fought about an hour, suffered severely & were ordered to retire—in about half an hour ordered forward again went over the same ground we had just fought upon, but the Yankees would not come forward again (the battle ground was in a thick swamp where it was impossible to see a man more than 20 steps distant) our Co lost 12 killed & 23 wounded went into the fight with 73 all told—Garrow, Colburn (died next day) Setchwell, Crowder, McNulty, Jackson, Baily Swain (died next day) (Campbell, Williams, Roper, Robeson—killed, and, Lieut Gardner—Sergts Duffee, Prvts, Atkins, Bell, DuBell, W. L. Ellis (missing) Geaudreau, Jordan (Missing) Loper, Wm

McKerrell, Alex McCambridgs, Mabrey, Moore (missing) Neville, Powers, Ryder, Singletery, Skinner, Smoot, Sullivan, Thomson Savr. (mortally) Williamson, McDonald (severely & missing) Col. Lomax & S were both killed in first charge

Names of those engaged

Lt J K Hoyt 1st Lt Comdy Lts, Lake & Gardner, Sergts Donaldson Duffee, (*Childress*) & Traylor, Corpls Treat Smoot McGuire & Colburn Privates Atkins, Atkinson, (*Burton*) Baily, Bryant, Belt, Buford, Bell, Collier, Campbell, Clarke, Crowder, DeBell, Wm. Ellis, Geaudreau, Gazzam Garrow, (ambulance, Gould) Goodloe, Getty, Hutchinson, Hunter, Howard, Jordan, Jones (ambulance), Jackson, Keller, Loper, Lecesne, *Wm McKerrill* Mc R. Mosby (ambulance) (ambulance) Mabrey, Monelle, McNulty, Moore, McDonald, *McCambridge* Maybin, Neville, Parker, Powers, Robeson, Roper, Ryder, T. Smith, R. Smith, Swain, Singletery, Skinner, Sullivan, Setchwell, Xavier Thomson, A. Sim. Thomson, Taylor, Williams, Isaac Williams, R. H. Williams, Wilson, Yates, Young,—about 1 P. M. the battle ceased, we occupied a favorable position, expecting a general forward movement of the Yanks, but they did not come—bivouaced on the field

*Monday June 2d*—At daylight, troops were first in motion & retired, (I think we are changing front) our brigade occupied same position as in evg of 31st

*Tuesday June 3d*—At daylight our brigade moved to front about 1 mile due E. pickets report the enemy advancing were supported by the Lynchburg Beauregards Artillery about 10 A. M. the 26th Va. joined us, burning houses & throwing up earthworks to the front, evening reported in strength & advancing—1 P. M. commenced raining

*Wednesday June 4th*—Rain fell in torrents all last night & until 8 P. M. tonight



CONFEDERATE PRISON AT MONTGOMERY, ALA.<sup>1</sup>

*By Earl Antrim<sup>2</sup>*

*Nampa, Idaho*

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Captain J. J. Greer of General Buckland's Staff, captured April 7, 1862 at the battle of Shilo, in his book printed in 1864 *Beyond the Lines or a Yankee Loose in Dixie*, gives this information about the Confederate prison camp at Montgomery. "Here we were placed in the penitentiary overnight, until arrangements could be made for our accommodations in the military prison, a description of which I will attempt. The side walls were of brick twenty inches in thickness, and thirteen feet high. The ends were closed by massive iron clad wooden gates, extending the whole width of the prison. The room was about two hundred feet long, and forty in width. It was used formerly as a cotton depot. There was on either side a narrow shed-roof, sloping inward, extending two thirds of the entire length of the building. Beneath this shelter were six hundred and fifty political prisoners. We often suffered for water in this cotton-shed prison. Some of our boys resolved to dig a well within the walls. In digging, they came to a stratum of potters clay, by which after the well was completed, they passed many a leisure hour in manufacturing little wares, such as pipes, rings, cups, &c, all of which found a ready sale among the rebels, and commanded a fair price in Confederate shimplasters. Our rations consisted of a bit of spoiled beef not larger than your two fingers, a small slice of coarse corn-bread without salt and this only twice a day."

General Peter Brannon, Director of Archives and History of the State of Alabama, adds this note: "From Capt. Greer's description of the warehouse it seems safe to assume that it was one of the pre-war buildings that belonged either to Gilmer &

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<sup>1</sup>(*Confederate Philatelist*, August 1961, p. 103.)

<sup>2</sup>Author of *Civil War Prisons and Their Covers*, Theodore Steinway Memorial Publication, 1961.

Co. or to John Murphy. Both of these establishments were situated between Tallapoosa St. and the Alabama River." Also, the "Minutes of the City Council of Montgomery reveal nothing directly relating to the prison, however in the spring of 1862, Gov. Shorter requested the municipal authorities to bear the expense of removing cotton stored in the heart of town should it become necessary to burn the cotton. The alarm was no doubt due to the recent raid into Tennessee Valley. One of the warehouses so emptied might have been used as the prison."

Daniel S. Troy was commissioned Captain of Co. A, 1st Battalion, Hilliard's Legion, in Montgomery, March, 1862. Captain Troy was commander of the prison in May, 1862. Corporal Henry Wirz was supervisor of the guards late in 1862 before being removed to Tuscaloosa, Ala. and later commander, within the stockade, at Andersonville.

The Official War Records states that the prison was closed on Dec. 14, 1862, and also states that prisoners from Montgomery and Pensacola, under General Bragg, arrived in Tuscaloosa on Dec. 14, 1862. The prison at Montgomery was in operation about eight months, from the middle of April to Dec. 14, 1862.

The Official War Records of the Union and Confederate Armies states that the Montgomery prisoners were destitute of clothing and the hospital was denied medicines. The corn-bread was made from unsifted meal and the meat was spoiled. Prisoners were shot for looking out the windows.

The War Department Records, Commissary General of Prisoners lists one hundred and ninety eight Union prisoners buried at Montgomery. No covers are known from a prisoner at Montgomery.

ORIGINAL INTERMENTS AT CAHABA MILITARY CEMETERY — NOW INTERRED AT  
MARIETTA NATIONAL CEMETERY\*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co. Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Grave Mark</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Adams, S. D.	Pvt.	I N. H.	Sept. 26, 1864	K-3440	Selma Cem. other records show Cahaba C
Baird, Smith H.	Pvt.	D 175 Ohio Inf.	Feb. 22, 1865	K-3308	Cahaba Cem.
Baker, U.	Pvt.	F 13 Ill. Inf.	Sept. 21, 1864	K-3821	Cahaba Cem.
Brown, Chas.	Pvt.	I 95 Ohio Inf.	Mar. 29, 1865	K-3633	Cahaba Cem.
Brown, J. H.	Pvt.	B 72 Ind. Inf.	May 12, 1865	K-4002	Cahaba Cem.
Burnham, Alanson O.	Pvt.	H 5 Mich. Inf.	Dec. 6, 1864	K-3501	Cahaba
Burns, G. M.	Pvt.	C 13 Ind. Cav.	Jan. 5, 1865	K-3749	Cahaba
Bible_____		Tenn. Inf.	Apr. 19, 1862	K-3506	Tuscaloosa other records show Cahaba
Carey, Alfred F.	Pvt.	B 7 Iowa	Apr. 11, 1862	K-3368	Tuscaloosa other records show Cahaba
Carlin, Presley	Pvt.	E 4 U.S. Cav.	Mar. 20, 1864	K-4029	Cahaba
Carter, Allen	Pvt.			M-4474	Cahaba
Clark, G.	Pvt.	F 8 Iowa Inf.		K-4060	Cahaba

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co. Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Grave Mark</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Cook, Daniel	Pvt.	H 4 Ky. Inf.	Apr. 27, 1865	K-3965	Cahaba
Coon, Andrew B.	Pvt.	B 2 Mich. Cav.	Mar. 25, 1865	K-3878	Cahaba
Culp, Sam'l.	Pvt.	K 183 Ohio Inf.	Feb. 8, 1865	K-3403	Cahaba
Danton, Alfred	Pvt.	I 66 Ind. Inf.	Dec. 27, 1863	K-3732	Cahaba
Dawson, Smiley C.	Pvt.	I 113 Ill. Inf.	Sept. 9, 1864	K-3877	Cahaba
Dodge, A. W.	Pvt.		May 6, 1862	K-3419	Tuscaloosa other records show Cahaba
Donahue, James	Pvt.	I 66 Iowa Inf.	Dec. 27, 1863	K-3712	Cahaba
Dyer, Jno	Pvt.	D 2 Ky. Inf.	Apr. 8, 1865	K-3407	Cahaba
Elliott, Jno	Pvt.	K 47 Ill. Inf.	Jul. 27, 1865	K-3520	Cahaba
Emery, Alvin	Pvt.	Ill. Inf.	Oct. 8, 1864	K-3496	Cahaba
Epperson, Jasper	Cpl.	C 3 Tenn. Cav.	Feb. 18, 1864	K-3809	Cahaba
Fairchild, Henry	Govt.	Emp.	Sept. 8, 1864	K-4076	Cahaba
Foster, Wm.	Pvt.	Ind. Inf.		K-3713	Cahaba
Fouch, W.	Pvt.	B 58 Ill. Inf.		K-3860	Cahaba
Garman, D. F.	Pvt.	C 9 Ind. Cav.	Dec. 19, 1864	K-3658	Cahaba
Gibson, ———	Pvt.			K-3417	Cahaba
Guiatt, Joseph	Pvt.	F 2 Mo. Inf.	Sept. 25, 1865	K-3916	Cahaba
Hall, Thos.	Pvt.	I 3 Tenn. Cav.	Apr. 18, 1865	K-3351	Cahaba
Hardie, M. M.	Pvt.	Ill. Inf.	Sept. 26, 1865	K-3410	Cahaba

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co. Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Grave Mark</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Hefflin, Henry	Pvt.	G 8 Ind. Cav.	Dec. 6, 1864	K-3471	Cahaba
Hendrick, J.	Pvt.	C 2 N. J. Inf.	Apr. 25, 1864	K-3641	Cahaba
Henlink, Henry	Pvt.	H 15 Iowa Inf.	Mar. 24, 1865	K-3924	Cahaba
Houghton, Alonzo	Pvt.	A 13 Ill. Inf.	Sept. 23, 1864	K-3894	Cahaba
Huntington, Edwin	Pvt.	G 4 Iowa Cav.	Sept. 25, 1864	K-3686	Cahaba
Johnson, Geo.	Sgt.	E 15 U.S. Inf.	Oct. 5, 1866	K-3933	Selma—other records show Cahaba
Johnson, J. R.	Pvt.	K 3 Tenn. Cav.	Feb. 2, 1865	K-3977	Cahaba
Johnson, S.	Pvt.	C 15 Ohio Inf.	Jul. 21, 1865	K-3759	Cahaba
Lowden, J.	Civilian	N. Y.		K-3362	Cahaba
Lyons, Wm.	Pvt.	K 95 Ohio Inf.	Mar. 9, 1864	K-3395	Cahaba
Maples, Henry	Pvt.	I 3 Tenn. Cav.	Feb. 10, 1865	K-3688	Cahaba
Meadows, David	Pvt.	E 93 Ind. Inf.	Sept. 26, 1864	K-3920	Cahaba
Mendenhall, Kelita	Pvt.	E 9 Ind. Cav.	Mar. 26, 1865	F-5399	Cahaba
Merrill, Jno.	Lt.	K 47 Ill. Inf.	Nov. 28, 1865	M-4480	Cahaba
Miller, J.	Pvt.	L 6 Ohio Cav.	Feb. 14, 1865	K-3665	Cahaba
Moore, Jno	Pvt.	E 175 Ohio Inf.	Mar. 1865	K-3418	Cahaba
Murrin, Augustine B.	Sgt.	A 3 Tenn. Cav.	Feb. 9, 1865	K-3504	Cahaba
Nellis, Fred	Pvt.	L 1 N.Y. Cav.	Mar. 25, 1865	K-3415	Cahaba
Osborne, Enoch	Pvt.	A 2 Ky Inf.	Apr. 8, 1865	K-3995	Cahaba



<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co. Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Grave Mark</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Payne, C. B.	Pvt.	G 75 Ohio Inf		K-3804	Cahaba
Ratier, Wm.	Pvt.	B 5th		K-4054	Cahaba
Rayburn, A.	Pvt.	I 58th Ill. Inf.	Sept. 24, 1864	K-3799	Cahaba
Reed, David B.	Pvt.	E 1 Ala. Cav.	Jul. 26, 1864	K-3670	Cahaba
Runnels, J.	Pvt.	O 21 Ill. Inf.	Mar., 1865	K-3853	Cahaba
Schachter, David	Pvt.	G 47 Ill. Inf.	July 16, 1865	K-3562	Cahaba
Searett, F.	Pvt.	K 16 Ind. Inf.	Mar. 30, 1865	K-3561	Cahaba
Seybold, H.	Pvt.	9 Ind. Inf.	Jan. 9, 1865	K-3798	Cahaba
Shank, James H.	Pvt.	A 175 Ohio Inf.	Jan. 20, 1865	K-3733	Cahaba
Shale, J. K.		Ohio Inf.	Mar. 1865	K-3833	Cahaba
Shatto, Wm.	Pvt.	K 64 Ohio Inf.	Feb. 9, 1865	K-3411	Cahaba
Simarl, Benjamin A.	Pvt.	B 21 Mo. Inf.	Oct. 1, 1864	K-3864	Cahaba
Slate, T.	Pvt.	1 Ala. Cav.		K-3416	Cahaba
Smith, Jno	Pvt.	B 34 N.J. Inf.	Oct. 10, 1865	K-3974	Cahaba
Smith, David	Pvt.	B 6 Ill. Cav.	Oct. 2, 1864	K-3789	Cahaba
Smith, G. D.	Citizen	N.Y.	Jun. 11, 1865	K-3607	Cahaba
Strawbridge, Sam'l.	Pvt.	K 183 Ohio Inf.	Mar. 1865	K-3628	Cahaba
Terry, W. P.	Pvt.	L 3 Tenn. Inf.	Feb. 18, 1865	K-3602	Demopolis (in roll of honor)
Thompson, L. M.	Pvt.	E 3 Tenn. Cav.	Jan. 1866	F-5384	Cahaba

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Co. Regiment</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Grave Mark</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Tidd, L. C.	Pvt.	E 3 Mich. Cav.	Sep. 22, 1864	K-3464	Cahaba
Watson, W. C.	Pvt.	Me. Inf.	Feb. 4, 1865	K-3370	Cahaba
Wells, Royall	Pvt.	B 58 Ill. Inf.	Jan. 26, 1866	K-3788	Cahaba
Wheeler, W. F.	Pvt.	H 9 Ill. Cav.	Aug. 21, 1865	K-3388	Cahaba
Whitmore, Joseph L.	Pvt.	A 2 Me. Cav.	Jul. 25, 1865	K-3683	Cahaba
Williams, Robert A.	Pvt.	K 16 Ill. Cav.	Feb. 22, 1865	K-3632	Cahaba
Wilson, Chas.	Pvt.	A 178 N.Y. Inf.	Jul. 7, 1865	K-3379	Cahaba
Womack, W. N.	Pvt.	A 11 Mo. Inf.	Jul. 9, 1865	K-3422	Cahaba

Unknowns 86

\*Cahaba (Per roll of Honor, 1869), Vol. XXIII, pp. 219-221 of records of B. C. Yates, Superintendent, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Kennesaw Mountain, National Battlefied Park, Marietta, Georgia.

\*See title.

